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HISTORY OF THE HEBREWS

THEIR POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD BETTERMENT

BY

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WITH MAPS

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To the Students and Faculty

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FOREWORD

This volume seeks to make clear the important place of the Hebrew people in the history of nations and to justify the selection of their history, as set forth in the Old Testament, as an introduction to the larger subject.

It seems deplorable that so many thoughtful people of today, old and young alike, take little or no interest in the Bible or in the fascinating history which it records. The reason is largely to be found in the fact that they failed in their formative years to become acquainted with the Bible in its true values, its attractiveness and its practical power. There seems to be a place for a compact, comprehensive outline of Biblical history and literature, simple enough in its expression and execution to hold the attention of the growing mind, and yet complete enough to meet the reasonable needs of any mind.

Hebrew history and literature is a theme of great importance to the one who would really know his Bible. It can be mastered rapidly. Too much time is given, as a rule, to details of relatively slight consequence to the exclusion of those which have far-reaching importance. This volume aims to indicate a proper balance of attention. It also seeks to enable the student to get rapidly to the heart of the subject and to view it from all essential standpoints, that of universal history, that of the development of the Hebrews, and that of permanent and personal values. The supreme defect of the religious thinking of the average man or woman of today is its narrowness. Every religiously-minded person needs to be familiar with the whole Bible and with the Bible as a whole. This knowledge need not be reserved for ministers or scholars. It may be the possession of any thoughtful student of religion.

The writer has aimed to produce a useful book. It does not profess to be a contribution to original scholarship. The only originality that is feasible in a work of this sort is that of method. The results of others in this field have been drawn upon with the utmost freedom. To make constant acknowledgment of obligation has not seemed necessary or practicable. The references given in Appendix II in connection with each

numbered paragraph afford the clue to most of such special sources of information. Appreciative thanks are due to Professors Henry T. Fowler of Brown University, Charles Foster Kent of Yale University and Irving F. Wood of Smith College for their helpful counsel and willing co-operation; to Dr. H. B. Turner, Rev. Lawrence Fenninger and the devoted teachers at Hampton, whose friendly interest led to the undertaking of this task, and to the many colleagues and friends in North America, England and the Continent upon whose results in the field of Biblical scholarship the writer has drawn so freely.

The volume should enable a teacher to cover the whole range of Biblical history and literature in a year of three weekly recitations. To make it at the same time a complete survey of Hebrew and Jewish life and thought a section has been added which outlines the history and the literature of the next five and one-half centuries until 135 A.D., the date of the absolute termination of the history of the Jewish people as a people.

The two important problems of the educational world today are the preservation of the natural relationship between religion and education and the impartation of right ideals and ambitions. These will always require the teaching of history from the beginning in terms of religious experience and the teaching of religion with a full recognition of its historical development. That this volume may help to solve these problems is the sincere wish of the writer.

F. K. S.

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INTRODUCTORY STUDIES

HISTORY OF THE HEBREWS

INTRODUCTORY STUDIES

I

REASONS FOR THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF THE HEBREW PEOPLE

(1.) **The Hebrews an Ancient and Modern People.** The Hebrew people, whose early history is chiefly recorded in the Bible, are a very ancient and a very modern people. They are known today as Jews and are to be found wherever enterprise and shrewdness promise large rewards. They are citizens of many different nations, while remaining true to their ancestral faith. No other people can be mentioned whose continuous history has been equally long and fruitful. The Chinese or the Hindus are just as ancient, and perhaps more so, but their existence has meant far less to the rest of the active world. The Hebrews, or Jews, have held an important place in history since a very early period.

(2.) **Their History parallels that of many Nations.** One who studies the history of the Hebrew people has occasion to touch that of many other ancient nations, which have risen, flourished, influenced the world, and finally disappeared. When the Hebrews were growing into an organized people, the Babylonians were the teachers and rulers of the greater part of Western Asia and the Egyptians were their only real rivals. The Hittites had already become a memory. While the Hebrew monarchies opposed each other, Phoenicia on the west and Aram on the north were alternately friendly and hostile to them. Assyria reduced all these nations to obedience or absorbed them into her vast empire, which flourished for three centuries, until about 600 B.C. Assyria gave way to the brief but powerful Chaldean empire of Nebuchadrezzar and his successors, which, in turn, was supplanted by the

Persian overlordship of Cyrus and his successors. This empire, after lasting for two centuries, gave place to the Greek empire of Alexander the Great and his generals, which, in its turn, succumbed to universal Roman rule during the century preceding the Christian era. While all these nations were coming into leadership, flourishing, and becoming decadent, the Hebrew nation was growing, sometimes in numbers and importance, sometimes in knowledge of the world and in culture, but especially in its appreciation of God in His relations with the great world. Its history furnishes the historical link which binds together all this long sequence of empires.

(3.) **Their Significance Religious.** The most important contribution made by the Hebrew nation to the world was its interpretation of religion. More clearly than any other known people in the centuries preceding the Christian era the Hebrews thought of God as a moral Being, a Character, the Father of mankind, who rules the world in righteousness and wishes to have it pervaded by goodness and friendliness. Three great religions, Judaism, Mohammedanism and Christianity, grew out of the religious convictions of the Hebrew race. One who studies its history thoughtfully is really receiving a sound training in religious thinking and reviewing the most important era in the history of religion.

II

THE OLD TESTAMENT THE PRINCIPAL SOURCEBOOK FOR THIS STUDY

(4.) **The Old Testament tells a Story of the Ancient World.** The student of ancient history as interpreted through the experiences and ideals of the Hebrew nation turns to the Old Testament to find the facts which he must consider. These facts do not always lie on the surface of the narrative, requiring only a careful reading of it, for the Old Testament is much more than an historical record. It is a unique collection, as we shall soon see, of records of various forms, each of which must be inter-

preted in its own way. Some of these records are historical in character, others are poetical productions, still others embody addresses or essays or stories. But the patient student will find that, taken together, they tell a wonderful and important story of the growth of the ancient world, politically, socially and religiously, for many centuries.

(5.) **It covers more than a Millenium.** The Old Testament follows this story of growth rather closely for nearly a thousand years, the very period during which, after the decline in power of the two great world empires, Babylonia and Egypt, which had held all Western Asia under their control for undetermined centuries, there arose one ambitious candidate for supreme authority after another, challenging all peoples to new ideals and achievements. The Old Testament records this progress in fairly close detail after the twelfth century before Christ. It also includes traditions of a history much earlier than that, a period of preparation concerning which few details are, or ever can be, given, but which give the historical student a clue to the character and purpose of the race.

(6.) **It is a Sifted Record.** The Old Testament is all the more valuable as a record of this ancient history because its statement of facts has undergone repeated revision. Its historical narratives as we now have them represent the contributions of century after century of earnest minded historians. They center upon the data which trace the upward growth of mankind into a comprehension of God and His relations with men. They emphasize, on the whole, the facts which men must take into account in reaching a just verdict upon past history.

(7.) **It deals with History as a Unit.** The Old Testament, notwithstanding its variety of writings, has a very real unity which expresses itself on every page. As a whole, it is a plea for the recognition of the place of God in the universe, supreme in power, but also in goodness, wisdom and good will to men. It interprets all history as developing in accordance with His beneficent planning and as working out toward a perfect goal. Some of our

best historians, such as the late Professor Fiske, have not hesitated to declare that their own comprehension of an orderly universe, developing under a master mind, growing steadily better, was given them by the Bible. These historians are the very ones who make the history of today so full of inspiration to every reader. They have caught the great, unifying idea which filled the minds of the leaders and thinkers of the gifted Hebrew race and made their review of history a " Bible " instead of a mere survey of facts.

III

THE VALUE OF ITS STUDY FOR THE STUDENT OF GENERAL HISTORY

(8.) **It helps to realize the true Value of Historical Study.** The Old Testament, used as a source of the facts of ancient history, offers several real advantages. First of all, it enables the student to realize the greatest value of historical study. Such a study, conducted merely for the collecting and classification of facts, is barren and unprofitable. To be truly fruitful it must have a religious and social, as well as an historical purpose. One studies history to better understand the world he lives in, to acquaint himself with the achievements of men and with their mistakes, to catch the ideals of the best and greatest and to avoid the errors of the unworthy. History is not the satisfaction of curiosity, but the equipment for intelligent, efficient serviceableness to one's own generation. The Bible is pervaded by the idea that the world we live in is God's world, with a wise, heavenly Father at the center of it; and that the best and most important result of reviewing what has happened in the past is the ability to direct our energies in co-operation with His friendly plans. The study of history ought to inspire students with generous ideals of active and responsible citizenship, with sincere ambitions for sane, strong leadership, with convictions regarding national policies and the power to distinguish between that which is merely clever and that which is fine and noble. No history surpasses that of the

Hebrew people in its power to transmit and impress such results as these.

(9.) **It shows certain Stages in the Religious Growth of the World.** Another outstanding advantage of the use of the Old Testament in historical study is its exhibition of the gradual way in which the world was prepared to welcome and appropriate Christianity as the final stage of religious revelation. The Old Testament tells the story of the religious growth of the Hebrew people. It is the history of the rapid passing of this unusually gifted people from a primitive to an exalted stage of religious experience. At the beginning of their existence as a people they held in common with other nations many imperfect ideas regarding God and the proper methods of worship. Before making Canaan their home they were desert wanderers, like the Bedouin of today. Many of the outstanding features of their religious life at that time are explained by the practises which may be noted today among desert tribesmen. After entering Canaan they adopted many of the religious habits of the peoples round about them. But while other peoples collapsed religiously, adopting the religion of their conquerors, or maintained to the last their distinctive religious customs, the Hebrews entered upon a steady upward growth which did not cease until they had, under the leadership of prophets and thinkers, attained a religious maturity and strength which made them the religious teachers of the world. The reasons for the difference between the Hebrews and their neighbors will be discussed as we proceed with the history. It is not to be explained by their environment or by their heritage, since other nations of their day possessed these same advantages. The Old Testament does not hesitate to explain it in terms of Divine planning and of human responsiveness. The Hebrews were gifted religiously. Religion was a great reality to them. When they grew politically it was natural that they should grow religiously. Their most valued leaders were those who combined ruling ability with sensitiveness to the will of God. Such a nation God could use on behalf of the world. He

trained the Hebrews in the school of life to know Him and His ways with men, so that through them the whole world might come to a clearer realization of God. All human advancement has to be worked out in human experience before it becomes widely available to mankind. The religious attainments of the Hebrews made a world-wide upward trend in religion more possible and natural.

(10.) **The Religious Experience of the Hebrew Nation parallels all Human Religious Experience.** The study of history through the Old Testament, following the clue of the growth of the Hebrew nation, has another unique value. Inasmuch as the Hebrews grew from a primitive stage of social development into a cultured, forceful nation, their religious experiences paralleled that of every thoughtful human being in his development from childhood to maturity. Somewhere in these Biblical records every one finds a reflex of his religious attitude and some satisfaction of his religious needs. This explains the wonderful helpfulness of the Bible to all honest-minded searchers after truth. It also explains why some portions of the Bible appeal to us more strongly at one time than another, and why some portions appeal to growing minds while other sections have a message only for those of ripened religious experience. A group of writings which embody the matured religious convictions of a religiously gifted race will not yield their deepest meanings to the casual student. They offer a lifelong delight and surprise to the finest intellects of every age.

IV

THE BOOKS OF THE BIBLE AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION

(11). **The English Bible follows the Hebrew Old Testament.** The one who begins to make use of the English Bible as an historical source is almost appalled by its size. There are sixty-six books in the English Bible of today, thirty-nine in the Old Testament, twenty-seven in the New Testament. In recognizing only these thirty-nine books in the Old Testament, we follow the Hebrew

Bible. The translators of the Old Testament from the Hebrew into Greek (about 200 B.C.) added fourteen other books, which are recognized today by the Orthodox Greek Church and by the Roman Catholic Church* as properly belonging to the Old Testament. Among these added books were such treasures as First Maccabees, Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon. Protestant scholars, while not undervaluing these writings, have preferred to recognize as belonging to the Old Testament only those writings which were accepted by the Hebrews themselves. The others they classify as Apocrypha,† grouping and printing them by themselves.

(12.) **The Scribal Grouping of the Books.** It is desirable at the outset to place the books of the Bible under some form of classification. The only grouping referred to in the Bible itself is the threefold division of the scribes, who distinguished the Old Testament as the Law, the Prophets and the Psalms or Writings.‡ (Luke 24:27, 44; John 1:45.)

The Law included the books from Genesis to Deuteronomy. The Prophets included the books from Joshua to Second Kings, except Ruth; and from Isaiah to Malachi, except Daniel and Lamentations. The Writings included the remainder of the thirty-nine books. This grouping, it is generally believed today, represents the three stages by which the Old Testament became recognized as a Bible. It is not in any true sense a classification.

(13.) **A Literary Classification.** One who wishes to make a careful study of the Old Testament must deal with it as a literature of varying dates and types. The most valuable classification will be one which is strictly literary. Such a classification, covering the whole Bible, follows:

* The Council of Trent in 1546 formally declared to be canonical all but the Prayer of Manasses, First and Second Esdras.

† The fourteen books are printed in a convenient edition, by the Oxford University Press.

‡ The third group is first mentioned clearly in the prologue to Ecclesiasticus, written about 130 B.C. The exact phrase is "the law, the prophets and the rest of the books."

Historical Books: Genesis, Exodus,* Numbers,* Deuteronomy,* Joshua, Judges, I Samuel, II Samuel, I Kings, II Kings, I Chronicles, II Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Acts; in all, fifteen.

Prophetical Books: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi; in all, fourteen.

Lyrical Books: Psalms, Song of Solomon, Lamentations; in all, three.

Stories: Ruth, Esther, Jonah; in all, three.

Legal Books: Exodus,* Leviticus, Numbers,* Deuteronomy;* in all, four.

Apocalyptical Writings: Daniel, Revelation; in all, two.

Wisdom Writings: Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, James; in all, four.

Gospels: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John; in all, four.

Pauline Epistles: Romans, I Corinthians, II Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, I Thessalonians, II Thessalonians, I Timothy, II Timothy, Titus, Philemon; in all, thirteen.

General Epistles: Hebrews, I Peter, II Peter, I John, II John, III John, Jude; in all, seven.

(14). **The Present Arrangement of Books due to the Greek Translators.** The present method of arranging the books in the printed Bible was first adopted by the Greek translators in the third century before Christ. With some modifications it was preserved in the Latin Bibles of 400 A.D., and later. The arrangement of the English Bible is that of the Latin Bible, the Apocrypha being omitted.

There is very little, if any, significance in the order in which the books are arranged in the English Old Testament. Until the second or third century B.C., probably no one ever thought of putting all of the books of the Old Testament into one volume. Each book or group of books was in the form of an easily carried roll of manuscript. The first five books formed one roll; Joshua and Judges with the books of Samuel and Kings another; Daniel, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah another; The

* These books are partly historical, partly legal.

Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes and Esther another; Psalms, Proverbs and Job another; and Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the Twelve the sixth and last. In grouping the books within these rolls they may have been arranged in the order of size or with reference to a similarity of ideas. The historical books were, of course, arranged so as to give approximately a continuous account of Hebrew history.

(15). **A Knowledge of the Date and Character of Each Book Important.** It is important that a student of Hebrew history should be able to place each Biblical book in its historical setting and to know its general classification. Only thus does it fit into a historical period and enable the student to compare the ideas and achievements of one period with those of another. The readiness with which this can be done is the real test of the student's comprehension of Hebrew history as an important part of the record of the growing world. The true order, date, and character of the various books of the Old Testament will be made clear during the study of the history.

V.

HOW THE BIBLE CAME INTO BEING

(16). **The Bible a Literature.** The Bible is best defined as a literature. Technically the Old Testament is a collection of Hebrew literature, but to call it merely that is to lose sight of its essential significance. A more satisfying definition would describe it as a collection of books of many sorts, prepared by members of the Hebrew race, through whom God interpreted to mankind His real nature and will with such clearness, breadth and permanence that these writings make a universal appeal. The Bible embodies on the one hand a great religious purpose; on the other, it is a real literature.

(17). **Its Response to the Five Tests.** As a literature, the Bible responds to the great tests to which any literature must conform. It represents many centuries of thinking and interpretation; its books are of the choicest

quality; it utilizes every form of expression natural to the human mind; it deals with the profoundest problems of human experience; it sets forth commanding ideals. Whatever gives to recognized literatures their hold upon the permanent regard of men will be found to be characteristic of the Bible.

(18). **Its Historical Range.** The Bible represents or describes the events of history for more than two thousand years, including the first century of our era. The period during which it was actually taking form was about one thousand years. Of this period nine centuries were necessary for the gradual appearance of the Old Testament, and one century for that of the New Testament.

(19). **The Varied Origin of the Existing Books.** The books of the Bible came into being in much the same fashion as the writings of any great and permanently valuable literature. Some of its writings, like the prophecies of Amos or Haggai or the letter of Paul to Philemon, represent the utterances of a short period or one single incident, and were probably put into written form without much delay. But such books as the Psalter or Proverbs represent collections which were in the making for centuries. Other books, like the histories, represent works which grew into their present form by degrees. The books of First and Second Samuel well illustrate this process. They went through at least three stages of development. The first stage was when the events which they describe were being enacted by the men and women with whose names we are familiar. David and Goliath, Saul and Jonathan were living men. The second stage was when stories were told or written about David, Samuel, Saul and others, which became known in every household. Later still, some one used these stories, and such records as were available to him, as the basis for a history of the whole period, a history which interpreted the age and revealed God's share in shaping it. This history could not have been written down by Samuel or David or by any one of those who took part in the events. It is not a diary, but a survey. Quite possibly the books of

Samuel were put into the form with which we are familiar several hundred years after Samuel the prophet and Jonathan and David lived. They are valuable records, however, since they embody these well-known stories which grew out of the life in which those actors shared, and gave it vivid portrayal.

The natural desire to know the responsible author of a writing containing a message which appeals to the reader is one the Bible quite often fails to satisfy. However certain we may be that Moses was the most important factor in the early history of the Hebrew race, and however much he may have contributed to the records which are found in the first six books of the Old Testament, he cannot have been the one who put all these varied records into the impressive unity of the Hexateuch. The historical books are anonymous. The rabbinical scholars declared that Samuel wrote Judges, Ruth and the two books of Samuel. It is perfectly clear to a competent scholar of today that their judgments were without any real foundation or value. The prophet Samuel cannot by any possibility have been the responsible author of the books which bear his name. Nor could he have written either Judges or Ruth. The reasons for such a statement as this will be given later on, but they are convincing. The Bible is not, in the main, the work of individual writers who may be identified. We may know well many of those whose writings are preserved, such as Nehemiah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the prophets in the Old Testament and Mark, Luke, John, Paul, James and Peter in the New Testament. Such definitely personal contributions represent, however, only a small portion of the Scriptures. Authorship counted for little in the ancient oriental world before the days of Greek culture.

(20). **Their Real Element of Value.** The fact that a Biblical book may have passed through more than one stage during its preparation does not impair its value, but increases it; nor does an inability to name its author detract from its value. The great significance of these writings lies in their essential accuracy and their inspira-

tional value. The most convincing proofs of their unusual value arise from their quality and from the impression they make. They speak to the heart of humanity and thus carry their own convincingness with them.

VI

THE ANCIENT BIBLICAL WORLD

(21.) **The Old Testament World.** The world of the Old Testament is that part of the earth's surface which we know today as Western Asia, increased by the land of Egypt and by Asia Minor. Its working boundaries were the Mediterranean regions on the west, the great mountain ranges, now known as Armenia, on the north, the Zagros Mountains on the east, and Arabia or the Indian Ocean on the south. Until the days of Greek conquest in the fourth century, B.C., the minds of men scarcely ran in imagination much beyond these boundaries. The tenth chapter of Genesis, which recounts the nations known to the Hebrews in their brilliant days, goes as far westward as Greece and Crete, but otherwise confines itself within the limits just named.

(22.) **Its two Great Nations.** When Hebrew history began, two great nations monopolized the habitable portions of the Old Testament world, Babylonia and Egypt.* Babylonia was the wonderfully fertile country watered by the Euphrates and the Tigris, stretching from a point where these rivers converge to the shores of the Persian Gulf. Egypt was the equally fertile strip of land wrested from the desert by the Nile. Each had its natural outlet toward the north. They were separated by the great Arabian desert. These two nations originated and disseminated the culture of the second, third and fourth milleniums before Christ. The habitable lands between them bordered the great river and mountain systems. A glance at the map of this ancient world shows that this habitable country, the natural route of caravans and travelers, made an ox-bow shaped territory, the points of the bow resting at Babylonia and Egypt, respectively.

*See the upper map facing page 44.

THE
OLD TESTAMENT
WORLD.
Fertile Land
Desert
Arid Steppe
SCALE OF MILES.
0 100 200 300 400 500
TARSHISH
SARDINIA
Rome
GREAT SEA
Hippos
Utica
Carthage
SICILY
ELISHA
Syracuse
Thebes
Athens
JAVAN
MELOS
CAPHTOR
RODAN
KARPATHOS
TUBAL
TIRAS
EUXINE SEA
Sinope
MESHECH
GOMER
Halys
CASPIAN SEA
L. Van
L. Urmia
Tigris
Nineveh
ARAM-NAHARAIM
Carchemish
Haran
Antioch
MESOPOTAMIA
ASSYRIA
Asshur
MEDIA
Ecbatana
ELAM
Hamath
CHITTIM
CYPRUS
Gebal
Sidon
Tyre
Tadmor
Damascus
Euphrates
Agade
Nippur
Susa
BABYLONIA
Baybion
Persepolis
PERSIA
Jerusalem
Salt Sea
Ur
Eridu
(Erech)
PERSIAN GULF
Goshen
Petra
Elath
Memphis
EGYPT
Abydos
Nile
RED SEA
ARABIA
SABA
CUSH
ETHIOPIA
SAHARA
BORMAY & CO., N.Y.

Many ancient inscriptions indicate that this intermediate territory was ruled from earliest times down to about the days of Joshua and David by one or both of these two great powers.

(23.) **Ancient Babylonia a very early Civilization.** The spade of the archaeologist and the skill of the linguist have made these ancient nations live again. The alluvial Tigris-Euphrates plain is now a marshy expanse almost devoid of inhabitants, but for at least two thousand years previous to the days of Moses, and perhaps much earlier, Babylonia was a fruitful, densely populated, prosperous, well-managed country. Its civilization was far advanced. The people of Babylonia were remarkable farmers, but they likewise developed all kinds of industries, cultivated the arts and literature, opened great trading routes, based their social institutions upon laws carefully enforced, and made many scientific advances.

The full secret of this development we may never know. It seems clear that at a very early date two distinct races took possession of the Euphrates-Tigris valley. One race was a Semitic people, called, in their own inscriptions, "people of Akkad"; the other was a non-Semitic people, known as Sumerians. Which was earlier is uncertain; neither was aboriginal. The Sumerians for a long time controlled the country and they may have been the conquerors of the Akkadians. The two races together were the creators of that remarkable civilization which impressed and moulded the rest of Asia for many centuries.

We hear of principalities existing side by side with the leadership shifting from one city to another or from the southern group to the northern. We know of empires of considerable extent and importance, such as that of Sargon of Agade and his son. Babylonia, however, first became a working unit between 2500 and 2000 B.C., when a great conqueror and statesman, Hammurabi, united these principalities into a permanent empire and made Babylon, his own capital, the recognized center of the empire. Hammurabi was a born ruler, a great genius, one who put his stamp upon the world of his day. He is

probably the Amraphel of Genesis fourteen. After his dynasty had ruled for several centuries, a new group of invaders, the Kassites, gained control of Babylonia. They adopted the culture of Babylonia and continued the far-reaching influence of the empire. Before they had been long settled, however, the subject province of Asshur on the upper Tigris revolted and established an independent kingdom. While the Hebrews were in Canaan and Egypt this new kingdom, generally known as Assyria, was gradually gaining strength and developing ambition. By 1300 B.C. it had become a rival in strength to Babylonia, its motherland.

(24.) **Egypt's Equal Importance.** The other prominent and powerful nation of the centuries which ante-dated the appearance of the Hebrew people was the Egyptian people. It will never be determined with certainty whether Egypt or Babylonia developed the earlier civilization. It is altogether probable that each was fairly independent of the other. They were rivals throughout these early centuries. Egypt developed at a very early period a civilization of a very high order. We know that at the middle of the fourth millenium B.C. Memphis had become the leading city of the land of Egypt. The early rulers of Egypt cared little about the outside world, but were energetic and ambitious in relation to the development of their own country. The fourth dynasty (about 2700 B.C.) was famous for its tremendous building enterprises, such as the pyramids, temples, palaces and tombs.

In Egypt as in Babylonia the twentieth century B.C. was a time of great progress. The twelfth dynasty added much prosperity and happiness to their subjects and developed a powerful kingdom. Curiously enough, Egypt suffered invasion and conquest when Babylonia did. The Kassites of Babylonia are paralleled by the Hyksos of Egypt, conquering Semites from Arabia and Syria. The Hyksos, however, maintained themselves no more than about a century. The great eighteenth dynasty not only regained control of Egypt, but transformed its peace-loving inhabitants into a conquering people, eager for

world empire. It is at this period in the history of Egypt that the fortunes of the Hebrews are intermingled with those of the Egyptians.

(25.) **Each Nation Helpful to the Hebrews.** To indicate the exact obligation of the Hebrews to either or both of these great nations is impossible. Babylonian culture pervaded the Western Asiatic world, and appealed naturally to the Hebrew, who was akin to the Babylonian. From the earliest historical times down to the twelfth century Babylonia had much political influence over those who dwelt in Syria and Palestine. But both Babylonia and Egypt gave rise to the varied influences toward higher and finer living which the Hebrews absorbed, tested in their own experience, and passed along to the world, interpreted in yet truer and more permanent forms.

VII

THE CENTRAL PLACE OF PALESTINE

(26.) **Palestine a Highway, a Watch Tower and a Distributing Center.** Between Babylonia and Egypt, not in a straight line, but by the route of commerce, lay Syria and Palestine. This strategically located strip of country, about four hundred miles long, and from seventy-five to one hundred miles wide, bordered the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea. The fact that no caravan, army, chariot, or even footman, unless desert-born, could go straight across the desert with safety, but had to go around from Babylonia to Egypt by way of the fords of the upper Euphrates into Syria and so down through Palestine, converted Syria and Palestine into a bridge between the two great centers of civilization and commerce, which every traveler had to cross,—a great highway of nations. Palestine has also been called a "watch tower." From the high hills of Judea the Hebrews could look down upon the passers-by and could easily keep in touch with whatever the world at that day had to say or do. In later times, just as today, Palestine became a point of entry to travelers from the West. Though a little country,

it stood at the very center of the world of its day. No place could have been selected for the home of the Hebrew people which would have more advantages for receiving impressions and passing them on.

VIII

THE HEBREW PEOPLE

(27.) **Their Designation.** The people whose remarkable experience we shall study with care are known in the Bible by three names. They are sometimes called Hebrews, more often Israelites, and after the exile to Babylonia in the sixth century, B.C., Jews. The first was their racial name, the second their religious name, and the third was given them by others because their home was the land of Judah. By this last name they are still known.

(28.) **Their Racial Origin.** They belonged to the Semitic family of nations. Other members of this same family were the Arabs, who continue to be known as a people down to the present day, and the Babylonians or Assyrians, Phoenicians and Arameans of ancient times. The Semites, as a race, have been distinguished by cleverness, insight, shrewd business qualities, capacity for management, but above all by their religious temperament. The founders of three great world religions were Semites: Jesus, Moses and Muhammad. It was natural that, when God wished to adequately reveal Himself to men, He should choose as His mouthpiece, or agent, a Semitic people.

(29.) **Their Distinctiveness.** The Hebrews were fond of calling themselves "a chosen people." They often misunderstood what this meant. They thought that it meant that God had destined them to supreme honor and to great power. What it really meant was that God selected them because of their serviceableness. No higher dignity could have possibly come to them than this recognition of their usefulness.

(30.) **The Biblical Story of their Development.** The story of the history of the Hebrew people, as recorded in

the Old Testament, definitely begins with the departure of their great ancestor, Abraham, from some point east of the Euphrates River to go to Canaan. It follows their experiences in Canaan, then in Egypt, and again while becoming established in Canaan. It describes the founding of the Hebrew kingdom under Samuel and David and Solomon, and the separation of this united kingdom into two smaller ones, Israel and Judah, which were alternately in opposition and alliance for more than two centuries, until the northern kingdom came to an end. It shows that this seeming disaster was the occasion of a religious advance of first importance. It then traces the history of the single kingdom of Judah through phases of prosperity and adversity, until its downfall (B.C. 586) and the scattering of the nation into Babylonia, Egypt, and other countries. It reveals the educational value of this new environment. It shows how Cyrus, the king of Persia, permitted the Hebrews to re-occupy their old home in Judea, which had, however, by that time, no more than symbolic importance. With the establishment of Judaism under Ezra and Nehemiah (B.C. 444), the story concludes. The next four centuries down to the birth of Christ were full of important events; but their record is not to be found in the Old Testament. The New Testament contains substantially the record of events of the first Christian century. The whole range of Hebrew history, counting from the days of Abraham, was over two thousand years. We cannot be very sure regarding the exact dating of events which occurred prior to the time of Solomon, that is, about 1000 B.C.

THE CHILDHOOD OF THE HEBREW PEOPLE

THE CHILDHOOD OF THE HEBREW PEOPLE

(31). The history of the Hebrew people really begins with the crossing of the Jordan River and the conquest and settlement of Canaan as a permanent home. From that time onward, its details are fairly well known. For hundreds of years before the entrance into Canaan, however, the Hebrew people were in the making. Our knowledge of this early period is very scanty. What we do know about it is derived from the first five Biblical books, Genesis to Deuteronomy, and mainly from Genesis and Exodus. Like every history of the beginnings of a race, it is told in the form of stories, which explain the origin of its institutions and describe its great leaders. Such stories are fascinating in their interest. They are the material out of which we make history, but their greater value as Biblical material lies in their portrayal of strong, true types of character and in their emphasis upon God's share in human affairs.

I.

THE BEGINNINGS OF HUMAN HISTORY (GENESIS 1-11)

(32.) In the first eleven chapters of Genesis we find a group of stories which convey the ideas of the Hebrew people concerning the creation of the world, the beginnings of human life, the conditions of primitive humanity, the origin of arts and crafts, the destruction of the whole human race by a flood, the repeopling of the earth, and the distribution of the peoples over the earth. These ideas for the most part they evidently inherited from their Semitic forefathers and adopted without serious question. Such ideas have a proper place in the Bible, not because God wished to make a special revelation concerning such facts, but because through these beliefs of the people, correct ideas regarding God, man, the universe, and their mutual relations could be established. A close and

thoughtful reading of the narratives will show that their greatest value lies, not in their anticipation of modern geology, or ethnology, or geography, but in their splendid and fundamental teachings regarding the great ideas at the very basis of religion. They should not be studied as a means of knowing the process of creation. God has enabled mankind to discover and develop the science of geology for that purpose. Nor do they, except in a symbolic way, throw light upon the exact method of man's creation or upon the origin of human occupations. God has given men the opportunity of discovering such facts for themselves. His message to the world through the stories of these eleven chapters was a religious message. To it we will give principal attention.

These chapters, viewed as a literary whole and introduced by the story of God's creative energy (1:1 to 2:3) form a very natural and striking introduction to the Bible as a whole. They express in simple yet dignified and impressive fashion the religious ideas which every one must have in mind who reads the Old Testament with intelligent reverence. They explain at once the various factors, Divine and otherwise, which are at work in human history and reveal the continuing purpose of God in its development. Two kinds of narrative are readily distinguishable in these chapters, one quite majestic and formal, illustrated by the first and fifth chapters; the other picturesque and simple, illustrated by the second and third chapters. It is generally agreed that this difference is to be explained as the result of compilation. The author of Genesis 1-11 in its present form probably had before him at least two distinct narratives of the beginnings of the world, which he made into one narrative by arranging in order or by combining the statements he found in them. They were "Bibles before the Bible," to use Dr. Smyth's suggestive phrase,* early attempts to solve life questions and national problems by pointing out God's definite share in the history of the people. They will be discussed more fully later on.

* *The Bible in the Making*, pp. 83-105.

1. The True God Revealed by His Work of Creation. (Gen. 1:1 to 2:4a)

(33.) This introductory chapter of the Old Testament describes the orderly creation of the inhabited world by God.

Who created the world? (1:1.) What was the first step in creation? (1:3-5.) Mention the seven succeeding creative acts. (1:6-27.) Which was the last and crowning one? What great religious institution was symbolized by God's rest on the last "day"? (2:1-3.) In what sense is the word "day" used in this story? What does it teach us about God and about man?

(34.) **A Poem about God.** This wonderful narrative is really a stately poem about God. Each stanza closes with the same refrain (vss. 8, 13, 19, 23, 31). It depicts an orderly, gradual process of creation under the guidance of God and in accordance with His will. But God and man, rather than the creative process, are the centers of real interest. The poem shows in dignified fashion how the whole universe finds its explanation in God.

(35.) **Its Four Great Ideas.** The three great verses of this poem are the first, the twenty-seventh and the thirty-first, which declare the creative power of God, human likeness to the divine and the perfection of God's work. Any one who understands and accepts them has a good start in religious thinking. Many would add to these, verse twenty-eight, which states man's place in the created universe.

2. The Story of Man's Creation. (Gen. 2:4b-24)

(36.) This story begins with the second half of verse four, "In the day that God made earth and heaven, no plant, etc." It answers in the simple, pictorial form used by primitive minds the question of the origin of human life.

What was the essential step in the creation of man? (2:7.) How did God provide for his physical wants? (2:8, 9.) What is meant by "eating of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil"? (2:16,17.) How did God provide for man's need of true companionship? (2:18-24.)

(37.) **Its Symbolism.** Even today there are those who are anxious to determine the exact location of the Garden of Eden. They emphasize the least important detail of this story. The writer of the Biblical story seems to have located Eden at some spot in Babylonia, which we can no longer identify. This was not strange, since the Hebrews regarded Babylonia as the seat of the most ancient civilization known to them. But the Garden was more a symbol than a geographical location. It meant that God at first gave man every possible advantage for the exercise of his natural capacities and the realization of his deepest needs. The tree of the knowledge of good and evil indicates that man was not designed solely to work or to enjoy himself. He has capacities of moral attainment which must be exercised and tested. True manhood implies the power to distinguish good and evil, to estimate the worth of things and the ability to choose them or refuse them.

Another great need of man was a real companion, his intellectual and social equal. The beautiful story of the creation of woman symbolizes the true relationship of the sexes, the natural dependence of woman upon man, her fitness to share life with him and the wonderful closeness of union in a true marriage.

(38.) **A Word-picture.** The picturesqueness of this story is in a strong contrast with the formalism of the one preceding. It is concrete and graphic, impressively told. Verse seven asserts the same relationship of man with God that 1:27 declares, but in a finer way. It suggests the material and the spiritual sides of man's nature. He has a body, but also an intellectual and moral capacity, given by God, which lifts him into the realm of the divine.

3. The Sin of Man and its Consequences. (Gen. 3)

(39.) This interesting story, a sequel to the preceding one, tells how man was deliberately disobedient to God and suffered the far-reaching consequences.

What did the serpent tempt the woman to do? What

was to be gained by disobedience? (3:5.) What were the four unexpected results? (3:7, 8, 14-19.) Which one was the worst? What final calamity did their sin compel? (3:22-24.)

(40.) **Man responsible for Sin.** This story is also to be interpreted through its symbolism. Adam and Eve in their acts of disobedience represent the whole human race. Their experience is a parable of what every human being goes through every day. The serpent symbolizes temptation, the suggestions which, unchallenged, awaken sinful desires and give rise to wicked acts. The special value of this story is the clearness with which it declares that for the sin of which he is conscious man is really responsible, not God. Many ancient peoples believed that the only deed that God would punish was a failure to worship Him. The Hebrews realized that He was a moral Being, anxious that mankind should be pure and holy and righteous.

(41.) **A Chapter from the Book of Life.** This story is historical in the sense that it is true to human experience. It is in form a parable of great moral and spiritual significance which explains the nature and results of sin. The man and the woman followed their desires, when tempted, although they knew that they were disobeying God's command. None of the excuses they gave was valid. The story suggests the responsibility of the two for the sin they committed and the far-reaching consequences of their sinful act.

4. The Great Flood and Humankind's Fresh Start. (Gen. 6-8)

(42.) For the simple story of the flood, the rescue of the family of Noah by means of the Ark, the inauguration of the new era and the divine promise of favor read consecutively 6:5-8, 13-16; 7:1-5, 10, 7-9, 12, 17, 23; 8:6-13, 20-22.

Why did God determine to destroy mankind? (6:5.) On what grounds was Noah exempted? (6:8, 9; 7:1.) How did He provide for the re-population of the earth? Was the flood an act of vengeance or a divine scheme of

reformation? What does the whole story teach us about God's attitude toward persistent sinfulness and real righteousness?

(43.) **The Story of the Flood Babylonian in Origin.** The tradition of a flood is found among many nations, but the Biblical story follows closely Semitic tradition. It has been clearly proven by the discovery and decipherment of Babylonian literary records that Babylonian narratives of the flood existed startlingly similar to the two which are intertwined in this Hebrew narrative. The main facts of the Babylonian and the Hebrew stories are the same, even to the character of the hero, the stranding of his vessel on an Armenian mountain, the sending out of a dove three times and the making of an offering on leaving the ark. The distinctiveness of the Hebrew narrative of the flood is in its moral interpretation. The flood is described as a judgment upon unrestrained sin, an occasion for the deliverance of a righteous man with his family, and the opportunity for beginning anew the partnership of God with men. It emphasizes the value of real righteousness in saving the world.

(44.) **Its Portraiture of God.** The story of the flood, as told in Genesis, gives the reader a still clearer impression of the character and purposes of God. It conceives of the flood as a special act of Divine power, paralleled only in grandeur by the process of creation. God put forth His power to destroy as well as to create because He wished to stem the tide of humanity's self-destroying wickedness. The apparent act of judgment was really a deed of infinite mercy. It sacrificed some in order that ages might benefit. These ideas are the Biblical writer's interpretation of the old Semitic story of a universal flood, sent by the gods to destroy mankind, from which a righteous man and his family were saved, so that they repeopled the earth.

5. The Origin of Languages and Races. (Gen. 10: 1 to 11: 9)

(45.) These passages offer a primitive explanation of the varieties of language and nationality.

From whom does the writer trace the origin of peoples? (9:18, 19; 10:1, 32.) What great achievement did the original race plan on the plain of Shinar? (11:2-4.) To what did God object? (11:6.) How was their ambition frustrated and with what result? (11:7, 8.)

(46.) **The Charter of Human Unity.** Chapter ten has been called the charter of human unity. It asserts what no other ancient nation seemed to realize, the brotherhood of the human race, and God's interest in all mankind. In form, it seems to be an ethnographical statement. A careful study shows that it is a list of the nations known to the Hebrews, arranged mainly on a geographical principle. It omits many nations which were then existing in the world. But the writer was more interested in declaring the fact of kinship than he was in writing an atlas.

(47.) **The Real Meaning of the Tower of Babel.** The story of the lofty tower and the ambitious hopes it kindled is hardly an adequate or accurate explanation of the origin of different languages and the dispersion of peoples. It must be admitted that such explanations satisfied the world until recent centuries. Only the wonderful achievements of modern scientific exploration and investigation have enabled the thinking world to get at the real facts of the world's growth. All languages have much in common and human habits of speech are curiously alike, yet modern research inclines to recognize five or six great families of speech rather than one. The Biblical writer emphasizes the kinship rather than the differences. He suggested that the distribution of mankind into nations and the different languages are factors in His great plan for the development and progress of humanity.

6. The Peculiar Fitness of These Narratives to Serve as an Introduction to the Old Testament.

(48.) **Their Religious Value.** Some students of the Bible may be pained by the idea that these splendid narratives are built upon the crude ideas of an unscientific age regarding the world. It may blind them to the real value of the narratives and to their important teachings. The

one who searches for scientific or historical facts may be disappointed by their meagerness, but the one who is looking for religious foundations will be deeply impressed. These chapters lay a clear, ample basis for a comprehension of the rest of the Bible. Their outstanding ideas are impressively true. The sovereignty of God, His power and purpose, His watchful attitude toward the world He has made, His grace and goodness, man's unique likeness to God, his moral responsibility, his place in God's universe, his sinfulness and its consequences, his necessary struggle with evil, his hope of victory over it, — such ideas as these make the history of God's relationship to the world intelligible.

(49.) **Their Pedagogical Fitness.** That the Biblical writer put his great religious ideas in this fashion bears eloquent testimony to his wisdom as a teacher. He used familiar forms in emphasizing important ideas. The stories of Creation, of Eden, of Noah and of Shinar, which were in the mouths of the people, were utilized as vehicles of statements which declare the character, power and purposes of God, the full nature of man and his place in the universe, the unity of the human race and the other great ideas which underlie all Biblical thinking. No method could have been devised to convey these conceptions with greater directness and force. Whatever there is of obscurity in the narratives comes from the nature of the traditions; these primary religious ideas are perfectly clear.

(50.) **Survey Questions.** Formulate the idea of God which these early stories convey to your mind. What place in the universe do they assign to mankind? What do they regard as man's greatest need? What do they declare to be his best achievement? According to them, what is God's plan for the world? Assuming that the theory of divinely-guided evolution is the true explanation of human social development, is there anything in these chapters which contradicts it? Why should the Hebrew people have been selected to serve God's purpose?

II.

THE ANCESTORS OF THE HEBREW PEOPLE (GENESIS 12-50)

(51.) The remaining chapters of the book of Genesis describe a period of hundreds of years in length, during which the tribes and peoples who in due time coalesced into the Hebrew nation were undergoing varied experiences. Research seems to indicate that the actual facts were more complex than the connected story of patriarchal life given in these chapters would suggest. The Hebrews were a mixed race, not merely the descendants of one single ancestor. Their annalists put into the picturesque form of these fascinating stories their recognition of the tribal movements which resulted in their emergence into history, of the divine and human ideals which guided this historical development, and of the types of character which led and moulded it. These stories they delighted to rehearse, as people always love to dwell upon the virtues of the ancestors, who laid the foundations of their national character. Such narratives contained much historical material, but only the trained ethnologist can determine exactly what they conveyed. Their lack of extravagance, their general soberness of statement, are in favor of their substantial historicity. Such personalities as Abraham, Jacob and Joseph seem to act consistently and naturally. It may be admitted on the one hand that a certain amount of idealization should be expected in ancestral narratives of this sort and, on the other, that tribal movements and kinships are expressed in some cases under the figure of family relationships. The average student of Genesis does not need to worry over these questions. He can recognize the representativeness of these stories and lay his emphasis upon their significant descriptions of character. It is scientifically, as well as religiously, proper to study them as idealized portraits, embodying the characteristic traits of the Hebrew people and upholding their best ideals. They make a personal appeal through their noble idealism to men and women of today exactly as they did to the leaders of Israel. They do this because

they embody the real experiences of real men, interpreted by men of warm religious spirit and strong sympathy.

1. Stories Regarding Abraham, the Pioneer, and Man of Sturdy Faith. (Gen. 11:10 to 25:10)

(52.) These fifteen chapters contain a long series of interesting and instructive narratives about Abraham and his people. They are wonderful stories, each, as a rule, complete in itself, conveying some distinct impression. The student has to be on his guard lest the very vividness of the narratives cause him to interpret them too narrowly. They really relate the history of a tribe or of a group of tribes, rather than of one single small family. They describe the adventures, not of three or four people, but of hundreds. Yet they focus attention on the leaders, their fine character, their attitude toward God and what they stood for in history. Each narrative is almost like a sermon and may best be interpreted individually.

(1). the call of abraham and his response. (gen. 11:10 to 12:9)

(53.) These verses declare Abraham's origin, genealogy and early home, and indicate why he departed, and whither and with whom he journeyed.

To what division of the human family did Abraham belong? (11:10.) Where was his home before he received his call? (11:31.) What made him leave? (12:1.) What three promises were made to him? (12:2,3.) Who went with him? (11:31; 12:4, 5.) How did he express his gratitude to God at his journey's end? (12:7, 8.) Why was he unable to remain long in one place? (12:9; 13:2, 5.)

(54.) **A Tribal Movement.** Picture this movement as that of a large family or tribe of which Abraham had become the recognized head. Along with him were relatives, servants, flocks and all sorts of possessions. The progress of such a group must have been very slow. The narrative suggests that years elapsed before Canaan was reached.

(55.) **Abraham's Early Home.** Regarding the early home of Abraham, the record is not wholly clear. Such passages as Joshua 24:2, 3; Deut. 26:5; Gen. 27: 43; 24:3, 4, 10, indicate that Haran in Mesopotamia, rather than Ur in Babylonia was the original home of Abraham. Haran was an important city, a great center of trade, in close touch with Ur, which was five hundred miles, or more, away to the southeast. It is not important to determine this unsettled question of his birthplace, since in either city Abraham would have grown up acquainted with Babylonian civilization. Ur is more in consonance with the Abraham of chapters 14 and 23, the "mighty prince" who is a valued ally of Amorite chieftains; while the naming of Haran fits better into the narratives of the desert chieftain, whose wife kneads the bread while he himself kills the calf with which his guests are entertained. But these two portraits are not really incompatible. They each imply a strong personality. It is fair to presume that Abraham was a man who represented the finer life of his day. The more we know about the Babylonia of 2000 B.C., the greater respect we may have for him and his leadership.

(56.) **His Motive for Going to Canaan.** The Biblical narrative implies that Abraham was a leader in the great task of giving a new expression to religion. Like other great religious reformers, such as the Buddha, Muhammad, or Zoroaster, he probably became oppressed by the soulless idolatry of the religion in which he was born, that of Babylonia. God somehow impressed him deeply with a sense of personal relationship with Him to which he could respond with freedom in no other way than by leaving the country. It was an irresistible call, although heard, probably, within his soul. He was a true pilgrim in search of religious freedom.

(57.) **Canaan not a Wilderness.** He did not venture into an unknown or empty country. The road to Canaan had been trodden for centuries by caravans and armies, by embassies and travellers. The whole range of Palestine, as the Babylonian inscriptions and the pictures and

inscriptions on Egyptian tombs testify, was, even in those early days, a fairly well-developed land. Semitic invaders, known as Amorites, had displaced the earlier settlers some centuries before and introduced a community civilization of some strength. At the same time, Palestine contained then, as it does down to the present day, much unoccupied land which was open to any wandering tribe.

(2). ABRAHAM'S GENEROSITY TO LOT. (GEN. 12: 10; 13: 1-18)

(58.) This section indicates what sort of man Abraham was and why he was worthy of God's blessing.

What was the reason for the journey of Abraham to Egypt at this time? (12: 10.) What evidence did he give on his return of his deep religiousness? (13: 3, 4.) Why did the servants of Abraham and Lot quarrel? (13: 5-7.) How did Abraham end the difficulty? (13: 8, 9.) On what basis did Lot make his choice? (13: 10, 11.) What two great promises did God then make to the large-hearted chieftain? (13: 14-17.) Where did Abraham then make his home? (13: 18.)

(59.) **Abraham's Large-mindedness.** The value of this story lies in the light which it throws upon the fine character of Abraham. Like the narrative of chapter 14, it reveals his disinterested, magnanimous, friendly disposition. Rather than to exercise his unquestioned right to take what he pleased and let Lot have what remained, he permitted his kinsman to choose. Lot acted like a selfish, avaricious, short-sighted man. Although he, with Abraham, had fled away from idolatry, he was willing for the sake of material prosperity and ease of living to settle down again in the very midst of a people far worse than the Babylonians. Abraham would have nothing to do with such as the men of Sodom.

(60.) **His Far-ranging Future.** Abraham contented himself with the less fertile pastures of the mountainous region of Southern Palestine. He may have stood on one of the mountain tops north of Jerusalem, when the promise came to him that some time his descendants should control all

the country as far as his eye could reach. The very fact that he stayed up there in the free, bracing air of the hill country, avoiding the debasing influences of the plain, was one indication of his ultimate supremacy. He was far-sighted and clear-headed in his decisions. He did not, like Lot, obey the impulse of the moment, but followed his spiritual judgment. The devotion of such a man to the things of God is significant. It proves him to be one through whom God may achieve His purposes.

(3.) THE STRENGTHENING OF ABRAHAM'S FAITH IN GOD'S JUSTICE. (GEN. 18: 1-33; 19: 1-14, 24-28)

(61.) This finely written narrative helps one to understand why Abraham became known as the "Father of the Faithful." He was a natural leader, one who took responsibility for men and was worthy of God's confidence. Just as he pleaded on behalf of Lot, he would have interested himself today in the sad lot of toilers in great cities, and in other important social problems. Such men are relatively few in number, but they are always helping the world along.

How did Abraham receive the three strangers who appeared at his tent door? (18: 1-8.) What joyful message from Jehovah did they bring him? (18: 9-15.) What other divine purpose was made known to Abraham? (18: 20, 21.) How did Abraham justify God's estimate (v. 19) of him? (18: 23-32.) What qualities of Abraham does this lesson bring out? What suggestions does it make about God?

(62.) **Abraham's Hospitality and Tender-heartedness.** Travelers tell us that Abraham's hospitality exactly matched that of an Arab sheikh today. Abraham received his guests with all the courtesies of a generous, high-minded, self-respecting chieftain. The importance of the message which came to Abraham concerning his son is measured by the various ways in which a promise of his future greatness had been made (13: 14-17; 15: 5; 17: 6-8) and by the Divine purpose which was to be fulfilled through him (18: 19). But how characteristic of the

knightly chieftain that all thought of his own future was supplanted by anxiety to save the few in Sodom who were not hopelessly depraved.

This story of Abraham's plea for the wicked cities not only sketches graphically the worthiness of the great leader and the weakness of Lot, but also exhibits the mercy as well as the justice of God. Verse 25 of the eighteenth chapter is one of the noble expressions of human confidence in the Divine.

(63.) **Sodom and Gomorrah.** The destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah will always remain more or less of a mystery. These cities were situated in the low-lying country at the southern end of the Dead Sea, which was full of bituminous material like the oil fields of America. Some great and very destructive explosion and conflagration must have occurred, which the Hebrews believed to have been a judgment for degeneracy. These chapters, however, have more to say about God's forgiveness than about His vengeance.

(4.) HOW ABRAHAM SUCCESSFULLY MET GOD'S SEVEREST TEST. (GEN. 21: 1-6; 22: 1-19)

(64.) This singularly fine account implies that God subjected Abraham to a supreme test of loyalty, and then taught him that He did not desire human sacrifices.

How did God fulfil the long delayed promise? (21: 1-5.) What was the meaning of the name given to the child? (21: 6.) What surprising command did God give to Abraham regarding the grown lad? (22: 2.) What was God's purpose in this? (22: 1.) How did Abraham obey the command? (22: 3-10.) In what two ways did God indicate His approval? (22: 11, 12, 15-18.) What did Abraham sacrifice in the place of his son? (22: 13.)

(65.) **The Meaning of Names.** The name which Sarah gave to Isaac was, like almost all Old Testament names, one which had special meaning. It means, " one laughs." It happily expressed her joy over the long desired son.

Study some of the other names already met with in Genesis.*

(66.) **Abraham's Crucial Test.** Abraham was somehow convinced that it was his duty to sacrifice to God his first-born son. In his day infant sacrifice was a general practice. The Babylonians, Phoenicians, and Canaanites maintained the custom, although they observed it very rarely and only for some supreme reason. God's command would not, therefore, have come as a shock to Abraham's moral sense. Probably he believed that God called on him for an act of supreme devotion. He interpreted this to mean the sacrifice of his first-born. Before the sacrifice was consummated, he was made to see that this idea was wrong. This experience was of great value in that it gave to Abraham, and so to his people, a new understanding of God's requirements. As a people, they came to be opposers of human sacrifice, accustomed to recognize God's claim to supreme devotion in other ways. They realized that He values self-surrender and real obedience, but prefers the sacrifice of loyal lifelong service.

(67.) **The Portraiture of Abraham.** This completes the portrait of Abraham. He was unquestionably a great man, his loyalty unbounded, his character unblemished. He stood the severest tests. His nobility, large-heartedness, courage, unselfishness and splendid faith made him a personality who was truly human, but upheld and exhibited the best traditions of friendship with God. His portraiture reflects in many details the age in which he lived; along broad lines it was an ideal for all time. He demonstrated the power of a life in fellowship with the Unseen.

2. Stories Regarding Jacob, the Clever and Crafty, Who Developed into Israel, the Consecrated. (Genesis 24; 25:19 to 35:29)

(68.) The stories which tell of the fortunes of Jacob are compelling in the interest they excite and remarkable as

* The shorter name, Abram, used in chapters eleven to sixteen, was the patriarch's real name. It meant "the lofty one is my father." The longer and more familiar name, Abraham, gets its meaning by assonance. The last syllable was suggested by the word *hamon* which means "multitude."

sketches of character. The real Jacob stands out clearly. The reader feels that he exhibited the strength and the weakness of his race with wonderful fidelity. The details are so circumstantial that they seem to compel the student to trace the origin of the tribes of Israel to this one man. The Bible itself, however, gives many indications that the Hebrews were, in part, at least, a mixed race, growing by adoption as well as by natural descent. It has been conjectured that the children of the concubines of Jacob were intended to represent these semi-foreign additions to the nation. This view assumes that in the writer's day they were legitimate Israelites. He therefore indicated their adoption into the Hebrew family by calling them sons of Jacob, but not rating them as descendants of Jacob's legitimate wives. To determine what the writers of Genesis meant is often very difficult for minds accustomed to the straightforward, prosaic statements of a western writer. A certain amount of perplexity and misunderstanding is not to be wondered at. Such incertitude as to the writer's real meaning, however, does not throw suspicion upon the underlying facts, as he gives them to us. The Hebrew people certainly began to exist at about this time. We can trace them in history a few centuries later. Their early development and particularly their attainments when we find them in Egypt imply some such leadership as that of the patriarchs. If the Bible did not contain the records of such men as Abraham, Jacob and Joseph, it would be necessary to infer their existence to account for the Hebrew people. It is entirely proper, therefore, to study these vivid sketches for the sake of gaining a vivid impression of the personalities which they portray.

(1). THE SONS OF ISAAC AND REBEKAH. (GEN. 24; 25: 20-34)

(69.) This section tells the story of the wooing of Rebekah, her marriage with Isaac, and the birth of the twin sons, who were such contrasts.

Why should Abraham have been so anxious to have his

son married to one of his own kindred? What is your opinion of Rebekah as she is described in chapter 24? Study the contrasts between Esau and Jacob. How did Jacob secure the rights of a first-born son? (25 : 29-33.)

(70.) **The Value of the Story.** The story of the wooing of Rebekah is a literary masterpiece. Its sketch of the faithful, trusted steward, of the modest, brave, beautiful maiden and of the peace-loving husband is inimitable. It is almost like a drama, each successive scene standing out with vividness. It has much archaeological value, also, in its mention of early marriage customs, of the organization of the patriarch's household, and of many social usages. Religiously it suggests the providential oversight of God, who directed every detail. Chapter twenty-four of Genesis with chapters eighteen and twenty-two are worth reading frequently.

(71.) **Jacob and Esau.** The contrast between the two brothers embodied that which existed for centuries between the Hebrews and the Edomites, their respective descendants. It was the difference between a people dwelling in settled communities and following the occupations of farming or trade and a nomadic people living by the chase. The former become far-sighted, shrewd and careful; the latter live from day to day, governed by the impulses or needs of the moment. The birthright involved two advantages, the headship of the family and a double portion of the inheritance (Deut. 21 : 15-17). Jacob set great value upon this right; Esau preferred a good dinner. The former was ambitious and persevering, capable of persistence in selfish scheming or in nobler service; the latter, although frank and generous, was shallow and unappreciative of the best things. In the long run God can do more with the former type of men.

(2). JACOB'S UNSCRUPULOUS AMBITION AND ITS OUTCOME. (GEN. 27 : 1-45)

(72.) This passage exhibits the cleverness and far-sightedness of Jacob, and his readiness to gratify his ambition even in a dishonorable way.

What did the dying Isaac wish to do for his eldest son? (27:4.) How did Rebekah enable Jacob to benefit by this desire? (27:5-17.) What shows that Jacob was fully responsible for the deceit? (27:19, 20, 24.) What promises did the blessing convey? (27:28, 29.) What were the consequences for Esau? (27:33-37.) What serious consequences resulted for Jacob? (27:41-45.)

(73.) **The Importance of the Blessing.** The blessing of a dying father was believed by Oriental peoples to exert an important influence over the life of his descendants. Probably Rebekah and Jacob feared that Jacob might thereby lose the advantage he had already gained by his bargain with Esau. The steps they took to deceive the aged patriarch were wholly discreditable from the standpoint of a modern conscience. Jacob and his mother did not attempt to justify their act.

(74.) **The Result of the Deception.** The guilty pair did not remain unpunished. A train of bitter consequences ensued. Jacob's punishment was exile from the family home. He had deprived himself at a stroke of everything on which he set great value. It was the sort of retribution he needed. His scheming mother suffered too. Despite her masterfulness and whole-souled devotion, she never saw the face of her favorite son again.

(3). JACOB, THE FUGITIVE. (GEN. 28:10 to 29:35)

(75.) These chapters show how Jacob was given a sense of Divine companionship and how he reached Haran, where he discovered his kindred and founded a family.

What did Jacob dream on that first night of his journey? (28:12, 13a.) What comforting promises were made to him? (28:13b-15.) What important discovery about God did Jacob make? (28:16,17.) What did it lead him to do? (28:18, 20-22.) What is there of special interest in the story of Jacob's coming to Haran and establishing himself there? (29.)

(76.) **Jacob's Vision.** Jacob's vision at Bethel was full of religious meaning. Leaving Beer-sheba must have seemed to him, not only a separation from a much loved

home, but also from the God of his ancestors. The Hebrews, like other peoples of that early day, were neither idolatrous nor, strictly speaking, monotheistic. Monotheism means that there is only one God in the world. The Hebrews were rather at this time what are called henotheists. They served one God, but believed that other nations might have their gods too. (Judges 11: 24.) Each god was supposed to dwell with his people. Jacob's dream assured him that the God of his fathers was taking an interest in him and would follow him with protecting presence, and bring him back safely.

(77.) **The Sanctuary.** Jacob set up a memorial of this religious experience. The hill had become a holy place and he wished to keep it so. Whenever afterwards he or his descendants came to Bethel, they worshipped their God there. Such was the origin, as the Hebrew people understood it, of this well-known sanctuary. According to 12: 8, however, the spot had already sacred associations. It was, probably, a very ancient sanctuary.

(4). JACOB'S RETURN TO CANAAN. (GEN. 31-35)

(78.) These chapters describe the reasons which determined Jacob to return to Canaan, his parting from Laban, his experiences on the way home, and his final settlement at Hebron.

How did Jacob justify his sudden departure from Haran? (31: 2, 5-7, 13.) How was a peace established between Laban and Jacob? (31: 44-49.) What evidence did Jacob give of an altered disposition? (32: 9-12.) What tremendous struggle took place at the Jabbok? (32: 22-32.) How did Esau deal with Jacob? (33: 1-16.) When Jacob reached Bethel, what was his first action? (35: 2-4.)

(79.) **Jacob's Severe Lesson.** Jacob's experience with Laban was just what he needed. Laban treated him precisely as he had treated his brother Esau. Jacob had a good chance to realize the unloveliness of the greedy, ambitious type of character. During twenty years he matched his craft against that of the Aramean and outwitted him, yet the old, peaceful, friendly life at Beer-sheba

seemed very enticing. He had had his lesson and was ready to profit by it.

(80.) **His Struggle at the Jabbok.** When conscience begins to be awakened, a man may have to go a long way, before he is set right in God's sight. Jacob realized the evil he had done to his brother Esau and proposed to make amends. It took a greater struggle for him to become absolutely submissive to God. He had a resolute will and an ambitious heart. The story of the wrestling with God on the banks of the Jabbok puts into vivid, parabolic form the tremendous struggle which the repentant Jacob waged with his lower nature. When it was over, his natural self had been made powerless; he was a changed man. He realized that the weapons, powers, forces in which he had trusted hitherto were of no value in God's presence. He would continue to be resourceful and persevering, but it would be as God's man, Israel.

(81.) **The New-Natured Jacob.** The new-natured Jacob is beautifully suggested by the verses in chapter thirty-five, which describe the impulse of entire faithfulness which came to him and to his family, as they neared Bethel, the goal as the beginning of his wandering, purposing there to acknowledge the gracious God who had brought him all the way. Religion became a great reality, a motive power in Jacob's life. The discipline of trial and suffering mellowed and deepened his character until 48: 15, 16 came naturally from his lips.

(82.) **The Tribal History.** These narratives express the belief of the Hebrew nation that Jacob was its immediate ancestor and that the twelve tribes of David's day were the descendants of his twelve sons. It is possible that Jacob's family history should be interpreted racially rather than individually. The classification of his sons as the offspring of various wives would then signify the relative purity of their blood as members of the Israelitish people and their relative importance. The descendants of the favorite wife, Rachel, would be the tribes which claimed the most representative standing, the descendants of Leah being next in importance, while the four children

of the slave mothers, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher, would be the outlying tribes which contained the largest foreign element and were least closely assimilated with the other Hebrew tribes. Those who hold this theory do not deny that Jacob was the real ancestor of the Hebrew people. They merely affirm that the peoples or tribes absorbed from time to time by the Hebrews are represented by the children of least recognized standing.

3. Stories of Joseph, the Upright Statesmanlike Preserver of His People. (Gen. 37-50)

(83.) This third group of narratives in the book of Genesis are as sharply individualized as those relating to Abraham and to Jacob. They are clearly and simply told, and have a dramatic unity which holds the reader's attention closely and stirs his emotions. The moral value of these stories is very great. They uphold sturdy ideals of integrity, trustworthiness, efficiency and faith. The production of such discerning narratives bears high testimony to the culture and breadth of the Hebrew mind. God showed his unfailing wisdom when he determined to use the Hebrew nation as His agent in the process of revealing Himself to the world. The literary power and unity of the story of Joseph is unique and remarkable, while its charm is universally felt. It deserves frequent study.

(1). Joseph sold by his brethren into Egypt. (Genesis 37)

(84.) This section depicts the boy Joseph, the jealousy of his brothers and his sale into Egyptian slavery.

Were Joseph's brethren justified in their hatred of him? (37: 1-11.) What made his good qualities offensive? How did they get a chance to dispose of him? (37: 12-17.) What did they do? (37: 18-28.)

(85.) **The Youthful Joseph.** The very youthful Joseph must have been exasperating, to say the least. Undisciplined by contact with the world, he was boastful, thoughtless and egotistical. He needed the experience which came

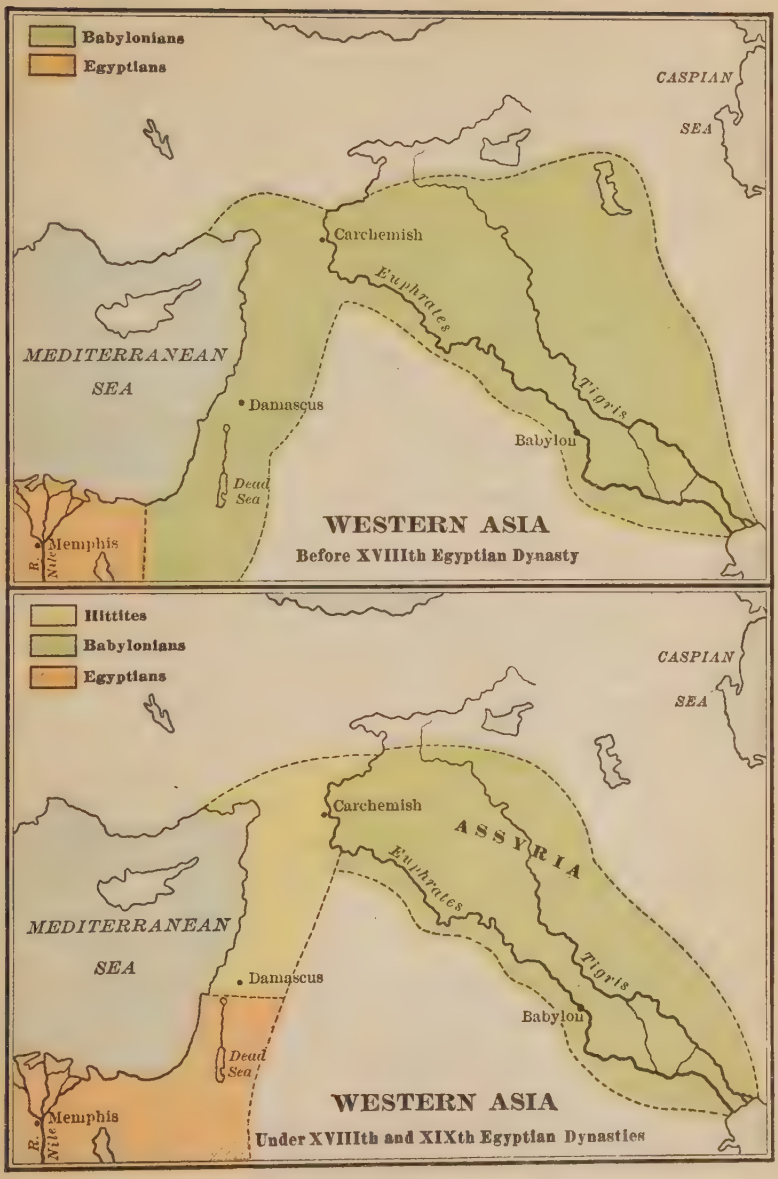
to him in order that he should become his noblest self. To be protected in a happy home from everything disagreeable is a pleasant experience, but not one which develops real greatness of character. On the other hand, the boyish dreams of Joseph evidenced his consciousness of power.

(2). JOSEPH MADE GOVERNOR OF EGYPT. (GEN. 39:1 to 41:57; 47:13-26)

(86.) This section describes Joseph's dramatic rise to supreme authority by reason of his far-sightedness and wisdom, and his prompt use of opportunities to enhance his sovereign's interests.

By whom was Joseph first purchased? (39:1.) To what office of trust did he rise? (39:4-6.) When committed to prison, how did he fare? (39:20-23.) What particular kind of skill brought him to the attention of the Pharaoh? How did Joseph interpret Pharaoh's peculiar dream? (41:17-32.) What policy did he suggest to follow? (41:33-36.) How did the Pharaoh signalize Joseph's appointment as governor? (41:41-45.) How did Joseph provide for the needs of the people? (41:48, 49, 54-56.) How did he increase the power of the king? (47:20, 21, 23-25.)

(87.) **The Pharaoh who appointed Joseph.** The sudden appointment of a foreign-born slave to unlimited authority over a rich, cultured, proud and powerful people could take place nowhere else than in an autocratically governed Oriental state. Probably it could not have occurred in Egypt except at one of two periods, the century when the Hyksos kings were rulers of Egypt (c. 1680-1580 B. C.) or the later portion of the eighteenth dynasty (c. 1580-1350 B. C.) when Egypt under the leadership of a series of conquering kings became a world power, ready to utilize brave, resourceful leadership from any source. The data available do not enable us to determine with assurance under which group of rulers Joseph rose to dignity and accomplished his reforms. The very general conclusion that Ramses the Great of the nineteenth


Babylonians
Egyptians
CASPIAN
SEA
Carchemish
Euphrates
Tigris
MEDITERRANEAN
SEA
Damascus
Babylon
Dead
Sea
WESTERN ASIA
Before XVIIIth Egyptian Dynasty
R. Nile
Memphis
Hittites
Babylonians
Egyptians
CASPIAN
SEA
Carchemish
ASSYRIA
Euphrates
Tigris
MEDITERRANEAN
SEA
Damascus
Babylon
Dead
Sea
WESTERN ASIA
Under XVIIIth and XIXth Egyptian Dynasties
R. Nile
Memphis

dynasty was the Pharaoh of the oppression (see § 99) makes it rather necessary to choose between the two periods preceding. That Joseph's Pharaoh was a later king of the eighteenth dynasty is in excellent accord with the facts as we know them today, but no one can be positive in the matter. Kings Amen-hotep III and IV (1411-1358 B. C.) held close relations with Asia and her peoples. Their inscriptions mention foreigners who rose in Egypt to great authority. The three hundred clay tablets discovered in 1888 at Tel-el-Amarna in Egypt are letters exchanged between foreign kings and vassals and the reigning Pharaoh. In addition to throwing a frank and vivid light upon the life of Palestine and Egypt in that day, these letters exhibit the tolerant and friendly disposition of the rulers of Egypt. A Joseph would have found a welcome at their court.

(88.) **Joseph's Loyalty to Him.** Joseph's use of his position of authority to aggrandize his sovereign master would be justly criticized by western students of society. The Hebrew writer who gave us this story evidently regarded it as proving Joseph's loyalty. Joseph is credited with a sweeping reform in land tenure, which put the whole country under royal control. The ethics of such a procedure varies with the era and the circumstances. It may have been a salutary measure. Professor Breasted points out that Egypt certainly had become the personal estate of the Pharaoh in the time of the eighteenth dynasty, although he follows Professor Erman in thinking that this condition was the outcome of a policy of confiscation of the lands of the old nobility carried out by Ahmose I, the founder of the dynasty.

(3). JOSEPH'S GENEROUS FORGIVENESS OF HIS BRETHREN AND WELCOME TO HIS FAMINE-STRICKEN KINDRED. (GEN. 42: 1 to 45: 26.)

(89.) This section brings the story of Joseph to a climax. It relates how the brothers journeyed to Egypt to buy grain, and were severely tested by Joseph, who at last

disclosed his identity to them, and bade them bring their families to live under his protection in Egypt.

What induced the brethren to journey down to Egypt? (42:1-3.) How did Joseph secure the sight of Benjamin? (42:13 to 43:15.) How did he test the loyalty of the brethren to the lad? (43:16 to 44:17.) What satisfied him? (44:18 to 45:3.) What invitation did he send back to Canaan through them? (45:4-15.) How was it confirmed by the king? (45:16-20.)

(90.) **Joseph's Generous Kindness.** The dramatic intensity, as well as the literary charm, of these chapters is very marked. The impassioned and persuasive appeal of Judah (44:18-34) is noteworthy for its eloquence, tenderness, frankness and generous spirit. No wonder that Joseph was overcome by its pathos. He was convinced that his brethren had repented and his great-hearted affection overflowed all bounds. Dropping every trace of personal resentment, he assured his brethren of his desire to use his resources for their good and declared that what had happened was a part of God's plan for their people. Such fine magnanimity and real tenderness of heart makes Joseph a remarkable character. He has been interestingly compared with Ulysses, the shrewd, resourceful, bold, God-fearing hero of the Greeks. The Homeric story saw justice triumphant; that of Joseph set forth triumphant mercy.

(4). THE LAST DAYS OF JACOB AND OF JOSEPH IN EGYPT. (GEN. 45:27 to 47:12; 47:27 to 48:22; 49:28 to 50:26.)

(91.) This section describes the movement of Jacob and his families to Egypt, their settlement in the border region of Goshen, their prosperity there, the death and burial of Jacob and the fraternal attitude which Joseph maintained as long as he lived.

With what buoyant hopes did Jacob and his people start for Egypt? (46:1-4.) How were they received by the Pharaoh? (47:1-6.) What was the spirit of the aged Jacob? (47:9, 29, 30; 48:15, 16, 21.) Where was he

buried? (49: 29-32. Compare 23: 3-20.) What was Joseph's attitude, after Jacob's death, to his brethren? (50: 21.) How did he explain all that had happened? (50: 20.)

(92.) **The Number of those who entered Egypt.** The list of chapter forty-six with its total of seventy people seems surprisingly small. It takes account of heads of families only and overlooks the women and dependents. The actual total of people must have been much greater.

(93.) **The Dying Blessing of Jacob.** In its present form the Blessing of Jacob in Genesis forty-nine is a poem of the early days of the kingdom. In David's day the more ancient tradition regarding the patriarch's blessing was cast into this poetical form. The poem makes a striking series of characterizations of the different tribes, — the morally unstable Reuben, the socially disorganized Simeon and Levi, the warlike Judah, the ignobly lazy Issachar, the brave Gad and fortunate Asher, the prosperous Joseph and alert little Benjamin. These are the conditions of the days of the developing kingdom. The tribes had varied fortunes. Some prospered, some had great reverses; some became pre-eminent, a few barely existed. The poem is very valuable as an expression of the "collective consciousness of Israel" on their conduct and destiny.

(94.) **The Faith of Jacob and Joseph.** The fine idealism of the narratives continues to the end. The dying Jacob recalled with loyalty the loving care of God for him and his. Joseph saw clearly that God's providence guided the whole sequence of family experiences to a much desired conclusion. Each of these great men passed on to his successors an unclouded faith and a great expectation.

(95.) **The Archaeological Accuracy of the Joseph Stories.** The substantial accuracy of the Joseph stories has often been noted. What has been discovered in relation to Egypt in late years is in general accord with the allusions of these narratives to Egyptian usages and institutions. This supports the conclusion that they were put into form at an early date, since the Egypt of Joseph's day differed

in many respects from the Egypt of later times. It also emphasizes our sense of reality as we read the stories.

4. The Ancestral History of the Hebrews.

(96.) **A Review of the Patriarchal Narratives (Gen. 12-50.)**

The Duration of the Period under Consideration. Putting together the chronological hints of the narratives, for example, 12:4; 17:1; 25:7, etc., what would be the time covered by the lives of the four patriarchs? How important is it to make exact estimates of time in connection with them?

The Nations Mentioned Other Than the Hebrews. What separate peoples are drawn into the history as told in these stories? Which of these were, properly speaking, independent nations?

The Narratives as Literature. In the course of these forty chapters are a number of choice literary passages. Select the three which seem, on the whole, most striking for literary beauty.

The Narratives Viewed Archaeologically. Many of the passages throw light upon the customs and ideas of the ancient world. Select three such passages.

The Wonderful Portraitures. In these chapters twelve different personalities are sketched with vigor and varying detail. Passing over Abraham, Jacob and Joseph, what three portraits would you select as next in order of value?

The Narratives Viewed as History. What sort of historical information could be expected from traditions handed down through many centuries? Try to put into a concise statement the historical information given by these chapters.

The Ideals They Embody. Gather up the inspiring lessons which have been gained during their perusal. What do we find that helps to make better men and women?

Their Interpretation of God and His Ways. Thinking back over the narratives, what do they imply or teach regarding God as a factor in human affairs?

III

THE SOJOURN OF THE HEBREWS IN EGYPT AND THEIR TRIUMPHANT DELIVERANCE THROUGH MOSES. ABOUT 1200 B.C. (Exod. 1: 1 to 15: 21).

(97.) The Biblical story of the servitude into which the Hebrews gradually drifted, and of their wonderful escape into freedom gives very few details of their long stay in the land of Egypt. It rather focusses attention upon Moses, their great leader, on his curiously varied preparation for one of the greatest creative tasks that history has recorded, and on the evident share of God in its accomplishment. The meagerness of information makes it impossible to be certain regarding the "king who knew not Joseph," the exact length of the residence of the children of Jacob in Egypt or the precise conditions under which they lived. All assertions regarding such matters are more or less conjectural. But the marked change in the treatment of the Hebrews by the Egyptians, their resulting desire to escape from the land which had sheltered them so long and their deliverance through Moses are not at all uncertain. These occurrences remain to this day, as they were for ages to the Hebrew people, the crowning illustration of God's unfailing goodness and thoughtful care, voiced not only by prophets, psalmists and sages, but by dispassionate students of world history. The Biblical story of the Exodus maintains the high level of interest found in the narratives of the patriarchs, but shows even more plainly its complex origin.

1. The Hebrews in Egypt. (Exod. 1.)

(98.) This section describes the altered attitude of the ruler of Egypt toward his Hebrew guests, his methods of keeping them from becoming dangerous, and their sufferings.

What was the cause of the change in the fortunes of the Hebrews in Egypt? (1: 8.) For what reasons did the Pharaoh fear them? (1: 9, 10.) What method did he employ to crush out their natural sense of independence? (1:11, 13, 14.) What work of construction did they carry

out? (1:11.) How did the Pharaoh try to reduce their numbers? (1:22.)

(99.) **The King "who knew not Joseph."** If the Pharaoh of the Joseph stories (§87) was one of the later monarchs of the eighteenth dynasty, the one under whom the fortunes of the Hebrews altered was probably a sovereign of the famous nineteenth dynasty. The change from one dynasty to the other was marked by radical religious and political changes. The ambitious monarchs of the new era counted the Hebrews as vassals subject to their commands, rather than guests of the nation. The mention of the building of store cities (1:11) and the character of the policy adopted by the king, make very probable his identification with Ramses II, the greatest Pharaoh of the nineteenth dynasty, who reigned sixty-seven years, from about 1292 to 1225 B.C.

Ramses II, the fourth sovereign of his dynasty, was a remarkable figure in history. Coming to the throne while young and vigorous, he initiated a policy which sought to recover to Egypt that vast Asiatic empire which had been gained by the warriors of the eighteenth dynasty but lost again by their weak successors. In secure possession of Syria were the Hittites, a non-Semitic people whose records and relics have been found in great numbers, but are still only partly understood. They were formidable fighters and had made themselves masters of all Western Asia north of Kadesh on the Orontes.* For fifteen years Ramses fought them with even honors. He then made a treaty of peace with Khetasar, their king, which left them in possession of Syria and gave him the unquestioned overlordship of Palestine. This treaty was faithfully kept for more than half a century, during which period Ramses gave himself to the promotion of vast building enterprises, of commercial expansion, and of whatever would promote his glory. He was vain and fond of display, but he added greatly to the prestige and power of Egypt. In his day a foreigner of ability was welcomed to Egypt and given every opportunity for

*See the lower map facing page 44.

distinction. He made large use of mercenary troops and encouraged foreign merchants. His reign was a brilliant one. It had the defect of lasting too long. The king became so old that he ceased to be formidable or active. His successors had to struggle in order to preserve the Egyptian state.

It is interesting to note, in connection with the long reign of Ramses II, the fortunes of Babylonia and Assyria. While the Kassites were establishing themselves in Babylonia (§23) the offshoot colony of Assyria which had settled on the upper Tigris had gained absolute control of that fine territory. This vigorous kingdom bid fair under Tukulti-Ninib (c. 1290-1250 B.C.) to take the Semitic leadership of Western Asia away from Babylonia and to dispute with the Hittites the sovereignty of the "Westland," between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean. A successful revival of Babylonian energy put an end to such dreams for over a century. But the Asiatic world had been warned to beware of the young giant whose full strength had yet to be developed.

(100.) **The Duration of the Sojourn in Egypt.** The Biblical statements regarding the sojourn of the Hebrews in Egypt vary between affirming that the period was about four centuries (Gen. 15: 13; Exod. 12: 40) and that it lasted for four generations (Gen. 15: 15, supported by Exod. 6: 16-20). Egyptian records, as far as known, seem rather in favor of the shorter estimate. One hundred and fifty years would be long enough to account for the increase in the number of the people which this chapter records. The longer period is likewise supported by good authorities. Those who hold to it place the Pharaoh of Joseph among the Hyksos, about 1600 B.C. (§87.)

(101.) **The Influence of the Sojourn upon the Hebrews.** Living, as the Hebrews did, near the eastern frontier of Egypt, and maintaining, as they must have done in the main, their earlier traditions and habits, it is possible that on the great mass of the Hebrew people the residence in Egypt had little effect. They certainly kept apart from the Egyptians as a people. Their en-

vironment may have given them a taste for the art of agriculture, and a familiarity with warfare, which stood them afterwards in good stead. The suggestions of the historian Ebers, that their exceptional men, such as Moses and Joshua, would have had a fine opportunity in the Egypt of that day to receive a preparation for leadership, seems altogether probable. It is doubtful whether the religious usages of Egypt made much impression upon the Hebrews. Their undeserved sufferings caused by the ambitions and arrogance of the sovereign seem to have partly deadened them and partly united them in a passionate desire for freedom.

2. The Preparation of Moses for Leadership. (Exod. 2 to 4.)

(102.) This section relates the romantic and beautiful story of the birth of Moses, his nurture in the Egyptian court, his outburst of loyalty to his own people, his long stay in Midian, and reluctant acceptance of the task of giving his people freedom.

To what tribe did Moses belong? (2: 1.) How did his mother try to save him from being put to death? (2: 3, 4.) Who adopted the little child? (2: 5, 10.) What act of his identified Moses with his people? (2: 11-14.) What was its immediate consequence? (2: 15.) Years afterward, in the wilderness, what great experience came to Moses? (3: 1-6.) What commission did he receive from God? (3: 9, 10.) For what reasons did he hesitate? (3: 11, 13; 4: 1, 10.) How did God reassure him? (3: 12, 14, 16; 4: 8, 9, 12, 15.) How was he received by his people? (4: 29-31.)

(103.) **The Early Life of Moses.** The second chapter of Exodus is a wonderful story, conveying an ordinary lifetime of incident in a few beautiful phrases. Jewish tradition, as voiced by Stephen in Acts 7: 20-29, dwelt fondly upon the attractiveness of Moses, his mastery of all that Egypt could teach and his efficient leadership. The narrative of Exodus fairly implies these qualities. Moses, as a recognized member of the royal house, must

have received a training in statesmanship and general culture far exceeding that of average men. There came a day when he made himself the champion of his oppressed people. His act was unpremeditated but generous and significant. He definitely yielded all of his luxuries and advantages in order to range himself with his kindred. Thus he exhibited the fine quality of his soul.

(104.) **His Life in Midian.** Moses fled out upon the eastern desert to the wandering tribes on the border of Edom, near the eastern arm of the Red Sea. Here he settled down among a people, the Midianites, whose religious traditions were like those of his own forefathers. His surroundings were not uncongenial and his education went right on. In the freedom and quiet of those peaceful years, Moses must have been turning over and over in his mind the deliverance of his people. How and when the opportunity would come he could not know, but his purpose did not change. The wonderful command of every situation which he exhibited later on is only explainable by years of thoughtful planning.

(105.) **His New Program.** The story of chapters three and four lays stress upon three great reasons for the determination of Moses to leave the desert and return to Egypt to champion his people and deliver them. The greatest reason was that he had gained a fresh vision of God as the holy, friendly One, adequate in power to deal with any situation. It was a very real companionship with God which began on that day at Horeb. But the God who came to mean so much to his own life was also the God of his fathers and must be made known to his people. The second reason was a conviction that the time had come for the execution of his long-pondered plans. The narrative declares incidentally that the old king had died. Egyptian records indicate that the short reign of the successor of Ramses II was followed by at least a dozen years of weak government. Rival pretenders contended for the throne. To a bold and resolute man like Moses, the situation might well have seemed an opportunity which God was summoning him to seize.

3. The third reason was an overwhelming sense of personal responsibility. God made him see his duty, over-ruling every objection. Great prophetic leaders are fashioned out of such deep spiritual experiences.

(106.) **The New Name of God.** The third chapter of Exodus seems to declare that God announced himself to Moses under a new name, full of meaning, one that was not wholly unknown to the Hebrews, since it forms a part of the name of the mother of Moses, Jochebed, and since Moses was able to use it with effect in appealing to his countrymen; but a name that came to his generation with at least freshened force. The name somehow betokened an inspiring idea. What that was is not very clear to the casual reader of 3:14. Probably, however, it suggested an active Personality, manifesting Himself in gracious ways, the eternal Providence of His people. The real name was not pronounced with three syllables, Jehovah. Probably it was bi-syllabic, Yahweh, but there is no harm in using the more familiar form, Jehovah, although it is philologically incorrect.*

3. The Departure of the People from Egypt. (Exod. 5:1 to 12:39.)

(107.) These chapters tell the vivid story of the appeals of Moses to the Pharaoh; of his adding to the burdens of the Hebrews in reply; of the calamities, one by one, from the pollution of the sacred river to the sudden and terrible pestilence affecting every Egyptian home, which finally convinced the Egyptians that the God of the Hebrews was fighting for His people.

With what two reasons did Moses support his first request to Pharaoh? (5:3.) What was the sovereign's response? (5:6-9.) What ten successive plagues broke the spirit of the haughty monarch? (7-11.) Which was the crowning calamity? By what symbolic act of worship was it averted from the Hebrews? (12:21-23.)

*The pronunciation, Jehovah, arises from the fact that the Jewish rabbis, some centuries ago, to avoid giving the real pronunciation, which they deemed too sacred for utterance, gave to the consonants JHVH, the vowels of the word ADONAI (Lord), so that whenever a reader came to the sacred name, he would be reminded to pronounce the name as ADONAI.

What indicated the haste with which the Egyptians urged the departure of the Hebrews? (12:34.) What great national festival commemorated both the hasty departure and the deliverance?

(108.) **The Three Sources of the Exodus Story.** The careful reader will notice, beginning with chapter three, a change from the simple directness of the preceding narrative. The story goes on but with more repetition and formal phrasing. The explanation of this is very simple. Throughout these books of the Old Testament, which furnish the historical facts which we are studying, the writer had available as sources more than one narrative. Each of these sources was a complete story of the early history of the Hebrews. The narrative we find in Genesis and Exodus is a compilation from these earlier narratives with largest use made of what is generally regarded as the earliest one. That narrative, for instance, reported among the plagues, the pollution of the Nile, the frogs, the flies, the murrain, the hail, the locusts and the death of the first-born. Another source reported as impressive deeds or "wonders" (7:9), the turning of Aaron's rod into a serpent, the turning of the Nile into blood, the frogs, the lice and the boils, and probably the darkness and the death of the first-born. These earlier stories of the deliverance all agreed upon the call and commission of Moses, the series of calamities and their divine source and the sudden departure of the people at the end of the struggle. Each one of them was so important in its testimony that the writer of the book of Exodus preserved many portions of each narrative, even at the expense of repetition. The historical value of the first six books of the Old Testament is greatly enhanced by the recognition of these underlying earlier narratives. It emphasizes the care with which these books were prepared, and the long range of national thinking which they reproduce.

(109.) **The Plagues.** It has been pointed out that the majority of the plagues were events which were always possible in Egypt, remarkable only because of their severity, and that one would have led to another. The pollu-

tion of the water of the Nile would cause swarms of frogs, whose carcasses would breed flies, and so on. If each wonder could be thus accounted for, it would not invalidate the claim of these writers that God thus prepared the way for the deliverance of the Hebrews. So it seemed to the Egyptians and so it may seem to the sober judgment of any one who believes that God rules the universe.

(110.) **The Passover Feast.** The Bible is very clear in tracing the origin of the feast of the Passover to the deliverance from Egypt. To make this identification impressive, the writer of Exodus included the Passover law in his historical narrative (12: 1-14, 43-50). But there are several passages in this narrative (5: 1-3; 7: 16; 8: 25-30; 10: 8-11, 24-26), which declare that the original request of Moses was for permission to go out three days' journey into the desert to acknowledge by solemn sacrifices after the fashion of their forefathers the fealty of the Hebrews to Jehovah, their God. Whatever this proposed national festival may have been, the Passover displaced it as the great annual festival of the Hebrew race. The night of the Exodus became for all time the birth-night of the people.

(111.) **The Number who Departed.** The variations in the estimates of the number of people who escaped from Egypt raises one of the unsolved puzzles of early history. Such passages as Exod. 1: 1-5, 15-20, or Judges 5: 8, indicate that the people would be counted by multiples of ten thousand rather than of one hundred thousand. On the other hand, such specific estimates as Exod. 12: 37 (compare Num. 1: 46; 26: 51) imply a total population of two million. If the Hebrews had a fighting force of over half a million men, such statements as Exod. 23: 30 or Num. 13: 31 are perplexing. The historical probabilities are in favor of the smaller estimate, but the persistence of the larger one is a puzzling fact. The large numbers may possibly be accounted for by the idealizing habit of the priestly writers, from whom they come. These writers treated history in a rather mechanical, unimaginative

THE LAND OF THE EXODUS
AND
WILDERNESS WANDERING.
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60
GREAT SEA
Tyre
R. Leontes
Kadesh (Dan)
Acho
Sea of Chinnereth
Mt. Tabor
Dor
R. Jordan
Shechem
Succoth
R. Jabbok
Joppa
Mt. Gerizim
Bethel
Ai
Jericho
Gilgal
Heshbon
JERUSALEM
Bethlehem
Medeba
Gaza
SALT SEA
Aroer
Dibon
R. Arnon
Kirjath-Arba (Hebron)
Gerar
Aroer
Arad
LAND OF Kir Moab
Beersheba
SOUTH COUNTRY
Rehoboth
MOAB
Zoan
River of Egypt
Zephath
Brook Zered
WILDERNESS OF SHUR
WILDERNESS
LAND OF GOSHEN
Pithom
Lake Timsah
W. el Tumilat
Rameses ?
PROBABLE CARAVAN ROUTE FROM EGYPT TO ELATH
Beer-lahai-roi
Kadesh Barnea
OF ZIN
LAND OF
EDOM
MOUNTAINS
WILDERNESS
OF PARAN
MIDIANITES
Elath (Elim ?)
Ezion-Geber
GULF OF SUEZ
GULF OF AKABAH
Egyptian Mines
Jebel Serbal
Traditional Mt. Sinai
Jebel Musa
Jebel Katrina
32°
33°
34°
35°
BORMAY & CO., N.Y.

fashion. They tended to interpret ancient conditions in terms of their own day.

4. The Great Deliverance at the Red Sea. (Exod. 13:17 to 15:21.)

(112.) This describes the departure of the Hebrews, their pursuit by the Pharaoh and his army, the remarkable escape of the Hebrews and the disaster which overtook their foes.

Why did the Hebrews choose the route out into the eastern desert rather than the " way of the Philistines " ? (13:17, 18.) How were they guided on the march? (13:21.) What did the Pharaoh determine to do? (14:5-7.) How did Moses still the fear of the Hebrews when the Egyptian army appeared? (14:13, 14.) How did Jehovah open the way of escape? (14:21.) What happened to the pursuing Egyptians? (14:27, 28.) To whom did the Hebrew people ascribe their great deliverance? (14:30; 15:1.)

(113.) **The Highways and Frontier Defenses.** There is reference in the narrative to two great highways, which travelers leaving Egypt were wont to use. The " Way of the Philistines " was the direct and ancient route northward into Canaan and Syria. Here the Hebrews were likely to encounter armed opposition. The other route ran directly east into the desert. Egyptian records show that its traffic was regulated, in the days of Ramses II at least, by a line of garrisoned fortresses from Lake Timsah to the Mediterranean. This was the obvious route for the Hebrews to take, in view of their expressed purpose to go three days' journey into the desert to sacrifice to Jehovah. When they reached the gateway, however, it was closed against them. The Egyptian army behind them seemed to have the fugitives at its mercy. Only Jehovah could help his people in such an emergency, but Moses assured them that He would surely do so.

(114.) **The Wonderful Deliverance.** Two accounts of the crossing of the Red Sea are intermingled in chapter fourteen, one poetical, reflected in the beautiful ode in

the next chapter, the other a straightforward narrative. The former emphasizes each stage in the episode as "commanded" by Moses, and pictures the water standing as a wall on either side, making a lane of dry land through a sea of some depth. (14:29.) The latter declares that a strong east wind blew back the waters of the arm of the sea, so that the Hebrews were able to escape around the usual barriers into the desert, and that, when the Egyptian warriors attempted to do similarly they perished in the returning waters. For such a power of wind over shallow water there are historical analogies. Moreover, the power of God was just as clearly in the providential blowing of the wind as in the creation of upright walls of water. The former account may have arisen from too literal an interpretation of such poetry as 15:8.

(115.) **The Leadership of Jehovah.** In a narrative like this, so dear to a religiously minded nation, and intended to acknowledge its indebtedness to Jehovah, the line is sometimes obscure between symbolism and facts. The "pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night" is a good example. Nothing is more characteristic of caravan travel in the desert than the use of a brazier at the end of a long pole, whereby a caravan strung out over the desert may be made aware of the whereabouts of the leader. In this fashion God is said to have led the people. Whether the assertion of Exod. 13:21, 22, is to be understood figuratively or literally is not easily answered. Jehovah's leadership was a real fact in either case.

The Bible is full of beautiful and instructive symbolism, so much so that a reverent student is often puzzled to distinguish between it and plain statements of fact. As in case of a parable, the symbolism centers attention upon the essential idea by putting it in the form of an image readily pictured in the mind. To say that God walked and talked with a man is more impressive than to declare that He is near a man to help him. Both statements point to the same historical fact. One is concrete, the other abstract. To teach a truth, such as the leader-

ship of God at this crisis, by symbols is to make it doubly impressive.

(116.) **The Results of the Deliverance.** The escape from Egypt had many consequences, some of them unanticipated, but all important. The authority and influence of Moses over his people were greatly strengthened. All thoughts of a return to their homes in Egypt were abandoned. The popular conviction of the goodness and power of Jehovah, their God, was settled. The people were ready to accept His leadership and protection, and to enter into a solemn covenant of mutual loyalty. They needed at the same time to be spiritualized in their thinking about God and religion. These were the next great steps to be taken in their development as a people.

IV

THE LIFE IN THE WILDERNESS, FROM THE MAKING OF A COVENANT WITH JEHOVAH AT SINAI TO THE DEATH OF MOSES. ABOUT 1200 TO 1150 B.C.

(Exodus to Deuteronomy, *passim.*)

(117.) The last stage in the childhood of the Hebrew people lasted less than half a century. Its exact duration cannot be determined. The estimate of forty years (Acts 7: 36) is a round number, and really means a period of some length, the exact duration of which is unknown. The solemn covenanting at Mt. Sinai, with the legislation which grew out of the attempt to express the will of God in the regulation of the affairs of His people, occupy the forefront of the narrative of Exodus. Other historical data are relatively few.

Such facts as are recorded are found in the four books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy. Of these, Leviticus entirely, Deuteronomy for the most part, and Exodus and Numbers in varying proportions, are filled with legal material. The authors of these books were more interested in accurately preserving the written law than they were in making a full record of the desert life of the Hebrews. A few outstanding facts are all we have on which to build our conception of this period.

1. The March Through the Desert to Sinai-Horeb. (Exodus 15: 22 to 17: 16; 19: 1, 2.)

(118.) This section describes the march of the Hebrews through the desert to Mt. Sinai.

What was the first difficulty encountered by the people in the desert? (15: 22.) At what places did they encamp during the march to Sinai? (Num. 33: 8-15.) How was their hunger satisfied? (16.) What powerful desert tribe disputed the right of the Hebrews to enter its territory? (17: 8-15.)

(119.) **The Desert Itinerary.** To identify with any certainty at the present time the stations at which the people stopped is an impossible task. The complete list is given in Numbers thirty-three. There are two explanations of the journey. The more common one assumes that Mt. Sinai was situated at the lower end of the peninsula formed by the two arms of the Red Sea, the Gulf of Suez and the Gulf of Akabah. The line of march would in that case have been almost southward, comparatively near the shore of the Gulf of Suez. Here they would have passed the highly prized mines which were guarded by Egyptian soldiers. The other explanation is based upon the conviction that Sinai was located in the land of Midian, near Edom, in the Mt. Seir region. (Jud. 5: 4, 5; Deut. 33: 2.) The line of march in that case would have been eastward straight across the desert, on the very pathway trodden twice already by Moses. There seems to be no means of making an absolute decision regarding these views.

(120.) **The Manna and the Quails.** Notwithstanding their possession of flocks and herds and the provisions they took with them, the Hebrews experienced more or less privation because of the lack of sufficient food. They often thought of the good things which grew back in Egypt. (Exod. 16: 3; Num. 11: 5.) But they came to recognize with devout thankfulness that Jehovah at times of acute distress sent to them what they really needed. The quails and the manna were natural products of the wilderness. God's power was not needed for their crea-

tion, but only for their provision in sufficient abundance.

(121.) **Sinai-Horeb.** The sacred mountain is called Horeb in Exod. 3:1; 17:6; in Deuteronomy; in I Kings 19:8 and Ps. 106:19. It is even more frequently known as Sinai. The tradition which locates this mountain in the peninsula of Arabia has no known support earlier than the third century of the Christian era. It may have no better basis than the conjecture of a pious monk who enjoyed locating scenes of religious significance. Archaeologists are beginning to favor a location in the Mt. Seir region. These differences of opinion do not affect the historical reality of the mountain or the certainty that near its base the most important event in the history of the Hebrew people took place. The holy mountain wherever it stood was the birthplace of Israel, Jehovah's people.

2. The Year at the Sacred Mountain. (Exod. 18; 19:2-25; 20; 24; 32-34.)

(122.) This section describes the events at Sinai, the solemn covenanting in the presence of Jehovah, the ratification by the people of the terms of the covenant, and the giving of the law.

In what awe-inspiring ways did Jehovah seem to make His presence on the mountain top known? (19:16-18.) What was the effect upon the people? (20:18, 19.) What covenant did they make through Moses? (24:1-3.) With what solemn ceremonies was it ratified? (24:4-8.) What ideas regarding Jehovah did they receive? (19:4-6; 20:20; 33:14-16.) What specific things did they covenant to do? (34:14-27.)

(123.) **The Four-fold Record.** No event in history was ever better attested than the stay of the Hebrews at Sinai. The narrative in Exodus is confusing, largely because of the fact that it is made up of extracts from three earlier narratives describing the important occasion. Besides these, a fourth description is found in Deuteronomy. They all agree in declaring that Jehovah made His will known through Moses, that a solemn covenant was

established between Jehovah and His people, that they were taught a larger conception of God, and that a body of laws was promulgated to them and accepted by them.

(124.) **The Solemn Covenant.** Under the guidance of Moses and amidst the grandly impressive mountain scenery of Sinai, the Hebrew people entered into relations of loyalty, worship and service with Jehovah. They made a blood covenant, the most sacred and inviolable ceremony known to the ancients. In the case of two men this was accomplished by the exchange of blood. As between Jehovah and the people, this exchange was symbolized by sprinkling half of the blood upon the altar and half of it upon the people (24: 6-8), all consenting to the terms of the covenant. Thus in solemn fashion they established an inviolable bond of fealty.

(125.) **The Ceremonial Decalogue.** The obligations involved in the covenant were formulated in a decalogue of worship which is reported in chapter thirty-four. The loyalty of the people to Jehovah was to be expressed by keeping the regular festivals, by generous gifts for sacrifice from flocks and herds, by Sabbath observance and by care in matters of ritual. Similar regulations are found, here and there, in the code of social and ceremonial laws, Exod. 20: 22 to 23: 33, generally known as the " book of the covenant " (24: 7) which is generally regarded as the earliest attempt at a codification of Israelitish law. They express religious obligations in terms of the religious activities of that age.

(126.) **The Ethical Decalogue.** An infinitely greater decalogue is the more familiar one of Exod. 20: 1-17, and Deut. 5: 6-21. It expresses personal rather than national obligations. Its standards are so lofty that many scholars think that it belongs to the prophetic age nearly five hundred years later. They also raise the question whether the second and fourth commandments could have been observed by the Hebrews of the time of Moses. But one may well question whether the ideas represented by these and the other commandments could not have been expressed, understood, and, in a reasonable sense, obeyed in

the days of Moses. A comparison of the two versions of this decalogue in Exodus and Deuteronomy reveals the fact that both of them are explanatory expansions of the decalogue as it was declared through the great lawgiver. Eliminating the explanations reduces the decalogue in each case to ten terse commandments, each a single sentence.

THOU SHALT HAVE NO OTHER GODS BEFORE ME.
THOU SHALT NOT MAKE FOR THYSELF ANY GRAVEN IMAGE.
THOU SHALT NOT TAKE THE NAME OF THE LORD THY GOD IN VAIN.
REMEMBER THE SABBATH DAY TO KEEP IT HOLY.
HONOR THY FATHER AND THY MOTHER.
THOU SHALT NOT KILL.
THOU SHALT NOT COMMIT ADULTERY.
THOU SHALT NOT STEAL.
THOU SHALT NOT BEAR FALSE WITNESS.
THOU SHALT NOT COVET.

The two decalogues are not opposed to each other but supplemental. Quite possibly much of the teaching of Moses at Sinai, which must have been phrased in simple easily comprehensible form, was expressed in grouped declarations. Scholars have found many traces of this habit in the great law codes of Leviticus. The laws are frequently arranged in pentads. It is not unlikely that the habit of counting on the fingers will explain this legal method.

The Jehovah exhibited in these teachings concerning religious and moral obligations was a God who would punish wrongdoing and reward righteousness. He was not to be worshipped by images. He upheld parental authority. He branded theft, murder, impurity, falsity of speech and even covetousness as crimes. He was to be Israel's God and they to be His people. This was a necessary limitation of His range of power and interest. The world was not yet ready, nor were the Hebrews ready, to understand and act upon that ethical monotheism to

which the nation gave its glad assent in later days. At Sinai, Jehovah was thought of as a national deity, moving with the nation and sharing its fortunes, while using His power to promote them.

(127.) **The Gradual Organization of the People.** Moses was both the interpreter of the divine will to the people and the judge who applied the divine standards in a disputed case. (18: 15, 16.) He deputed most of the work of judging to able men to whom he gave authority. (18: 25.) He established the standards; they applied them to daily life.

The remainder of Exodus, all of Leviticus, a portion of Numbers, and most of Deuteronomy, purport to describe the regulations which he established, socially, ceremonially and religiously. These books record these laws in their final form.

Including the Covenant code, mentioned above (§125), they comprise three fairly distinct formulations of Hebrew jurisprudence, of which the Covenant code is the most simple, the code of Deuteronomy the next in complexity and comprehensiveness and the Levitical code is the all-inclusive one. It is altogether likely that the activity of Moses at Sinai was limited to the provision of regular public worship, of a simple sanctuary with its special attendants, and of regulations which ensured justice, sanitation, public health, orderliness and unity. His people were mainly slaves. They needed simple regulations steadily applied. The great leader was fortunate in the men who were available to give him counsel and to execute his commands. The narrative singles out Jethro, Joshua and Aaron for special mention, but indicates that there were many others available. Their task and his was to train the Hebrews into a fair-minded, honest, God-fearing people in whose minds religion of a noble order should have a foremost place. The reality was doubtless far below their ideal, but there was an ideal.

3. The Training of the Wilderness.

(Num. 10:11 to 14:45; 20 to 25.)

(128.) These narratives describe the departure from Sinai, the ineffectual attempt to go straight into Palestine, the long delay at Kadesh and the final advance to the country east of the river Jordan.

What sacred object led the line of Israel's march? (10:33, 35.) What was Moses accustomed to say when it started and stopped? (10:35, 36.) To what oasis in the desert country did they make their way? (12:16; 13:26.) Why were the spies sent northward? (13:17-20.) What was the majority report? (13:27, 28.) What did Joshua and Caleb say? (14:6-9.) What was the outcome? (14:22-24.) By what route did they finally go from Kadesh to the Jordan? (20:22; 21:4, 10-20, 33; 22:1.) How did Balak try to hinder them? (22:2 to 24:25.)

(129.) **The Ark and the Tent of Meeting.** Moses understood well the value of sacred symbolism. Jehovah could not be represented by an image, but the ark could be the symbol of His presence with the people. They needed something which they could see. Its presence secured His presence. Moses invoked it in the morning on the march with the words, "Rise, Jehovah, and let thine enemies be scattered," and at night, when it rested, he said, "Return, Jehovah, to the myriad thousands of Israel." (Num. 10:35, 36). The Tent of Meeting (R. V.) or Tabernacle of the Congregation (A. V.) (Exod. 33:7-11) was the resting place of the ark and the abode of Jehovah, and Joshua was its guardian. Here Moses retired to commune with God. (Exod. 33:10, 11.)

(130.) **Kadesh-barnea.** According to Deut. 1:2, Kadesh was eleven days' journey from the sacred mountain. It was about fifty miles south of Beer-sheba, a well-known oasis with an abundant water supply. Kadesh became the headquarters of the Israelites during their long stay in the desert. (Num. 20:1; Deut. 1:46.) The country was less barren than the southern desert, but could only be occupied by a people moving about here and there.

The method of life of a large Arab tribe today offers probably the closest analogy to the life of the Hebrews during these years. These years in the desert were of untold value to the fugitives from Egypt. They learned resourcefulness, endurance, skill in warfare, dependence upon God and above all a sense of unity.

(131.) **The Attempt to enter Canaan from the South.** (Num. 13, 14). A journey of one hundred miles from Kadesh would place a traveler in the very heart of southern Canaan. Moses sent the spies to find out whether it was possible to conquer that land. They reported an attractive but well-defended country. In consequence of this report, no advance was made, notwithstanding the urgent appeal of Caleb. The people felt themselves inadequate to the task of conquest. Humanly speaking, they were correct in that judgment. The inhabitants of Canaan were accustomed to attacks from the south or the north and prepared to meet them. The long delay not only added to the strength and the fighting ability of the Hebrews, but caused them to seek another point of attack, the country east of Jordan. (Num. 22: 1.)

(132.) **From Kadesh to the Jordan.** The story of the movements of the people after leaving Kadesh shows that failing to get permission from the Edomites, their kinsmen, to make a short cut through their territory (Num. 20: 14-21) the Hebrews made a long circuit around Edom. They also passed around the country of the Moabites, coming finally to the river Arnon (Deut. 2: 8, 9, 36). Here they came into conflict with the Amorite kingdom of Sihon, which they captured and possessed. The Amorites were a people whose presence in Palestine and Syria can be traced as far back as 2500 B.C. (§57) and, perhaps, more than a thousand years earlier. They were Semites, but the Hebrews looked upon them as enemies. After the conquest of Canaan by the Hebrews they disappeared from history, probably by extermination or absorption.

(133.) **The Predictions of Balaam.** (Num. 22-24.) The Moabites looked with concern upon the settlement of the victorious Hebrews just north of their border. Balak,

their king, tried to cripple Israel by having a curse placed upon the people by a famous soothsayer, Balaam. The dramatic element in the story lies in the fact that at each attempt Balaam was forced to testify to Israel's advantage, and to predict her future greatness.

4. The Last Days of Moses. (Num. 27: 12-23; Deut. 31, 32, 34.)

(134.) This section describes the vision which Moses was given of the coveted land, the appointment of Joshua as leader in his place, his words of farewell and his death.

From what mountain did Moses get a view of Canaan? (Deut. 32: 49.) To whom was his authority transferred? (Deut. 31: 14, 15, 23.) What did he say by way of farewell to the people? (Deut. 31: 1-8.) Where was he buried? (Deut. 34: 5, 6.)

(135.) **The Character of Moses.** The story of the life of Moses reveals a greatness which places him in the forefront of the world's heroes. Such a man as he was explains the remarkable development of the Hebrews from a people cowed by servitude and with the careless habits of nomads into a conquering people made irresistible by a sense of unity, arising out of a common belief in the guidance of Jehovah. He accounts in part for the great divergence between the Hebrews and the peoples kindred to them.

The casual references of these narratives to Moses are interesting. They exhibit a real manhood. Moses had plenty of spirit. (Exod. 2: 12, 17; 10: 29; 11: 8; Num. 16: 15; 20: 10). But he was great-souled enough to be self-distrustful in the face of a great task (Exod. 3: 11; 4: 10), unwilling to aggrandize himself at the expense of his people (Exod. 32: 11; Num. 14: 17), and generous in recognizing others (Num. 11: 27-29). He contended successfully with a cowardly and discontented people (Num. 11: 4-6), with disloyal chieftains (Num. 16: 12-15) and with jealous relatives (Num. 12: 2). But his greatest quality was his prophetic faith, which not only sustained

his own life, but made him the herald and spokesman of a people who came to have a sense of destiny.

(136.) **His Significant Place in Israel's History.** If the records of Hebrew history had begun with the entrance of the people into Canaan, a personality like that of Moses would be presupposed by the development they had then attained. Humanly speaking, he was Israel's creator. *As a leader*, he found the people disheartened and untrained, and left them disciplined and inspired by ideals. *As a prophet*, he taught them ideals of social justice, of purity and honor, which contributed to their rapid upward growth. *As a lawgiver*, he formulated a scheme of civil, sanitary, and religious jurisprudence which transformed them into a sober, healthy, moral, right-minded people. *As the founder of a religion*, he drew his people into a real loyalty to Jehovah, as their own God, whose character and requirements were such as to stimulate their growth in goodness. It is not strange that Jewish tradition spoke of him in superlatives (Deut. 34: 10-12), and loved to refer to him as "Jehovah's servant" (Deut. 34: 5) and as "the man of God" (Ezra. 3: 2; Ps. 90: 1).

5. The New Israel.

(137.) **A Review of the Mosaic Period.**

The Duration of the Period. Measuring from the death of Joseph, what is the approximate length of the period under review?

Its Great Events. Thinking back over its details, what ten events should be regarded as of first importance?

Its Noteworthy Leaders. More than a dozen people are sketched in the course of these narratives. Leaving out Moses, Joshua or Aaron, who are the next four in importance?

The Nations mentioned with whom the Hebrews were in Contact. At least seven nations and tribes are recorded as having direct dealings with the Hebrews. Mention four of them.

The Narratives as Literature. Which of the four Bibli-

cal books describing this period has the best stories? Which one is a model of oratorical dignity and force? Which one is entirely given over to legal material? Select three passages which, for some good reason, seem beautiful.

The Narratives Viewed Archaeologically. Find three passages which throw light on the manners and customs of the age described.

Their Historical Information. Put into a careful statement the historical information regarding the Hebrews which these books give.

What had been Gained. What three tremendous forward steps had the Hebrew people taken under the leadership of Moses?

THE ADOLESCENT

OR

GROWING AGE OF ISRAEL'S DEVELOPMENT

THE ADOLESCENT OR GROWING AGE OF ISRAEL'S DEVELOPMENT

From the Crossing of the Jordan to the Disruption of the Newly Organized Kingdom. About 1150 B.C. to 937 B.C. (Joshua, Judges, Ruth, I and II Samuel, I Kings 1-11.)

(138.) This period of a little over two hundred years witnessed the settlement of the Hebrew tribes in Canaan, their gradual consolidation into three well-defined sections, their final achievement of national organization with a capital, a national consciousness and an outlook, and the brief glory of the kingdom thus established. Roughly speaking, the occupation and mastery of Canaan required one of these two centuries and the development of the kingdom the other. The records which describe the second century are unsurpassed in the Old Testament for interest or in value. They furnish an adequate picture of the political, social and religious practises and ideals of the Hebrew people in the days of David. The records of the first century contain the facts which the historian needs to know, but present them less effectively. Throughout the six historical books, however, the history continues to be told in personalized fashion. In large measure it is the story of leader after leader, and what he did. The Biblical historians do not hesitate at times to interpret the history of the periods they treat (Judges 2: 11-23), but the most valuable portions of their record are those which incorporate the original stories with the least amount of editorial comment. The idealism which gripped and governed the rudest of the heroes of Israel enables us to understand why they builded so much better than they knew. The rapid ripening of such a personality as David's likewise exhibits the possibilities of the Hebrew stock. But Gideon, Deborah, Jonathan and Samuel were worthy representatives of its strength.

V.

THE CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT OF CANAAN. ABOUT 1150 TO 1050 B.C. (JOSHUA, JUDGES, RUTH, FIRST SAMUEL 1-3.)

(139.) With the crossing of the river Jordan and the conquest of Southern and Central Canaan, Hebrew history really begins. The overcoming of armed opposition to the settlement of the invaders was a matter of a few years. The consolidation of the Hebrew tribes, their mastery of the whole country, and the absorption or disappearance of all hostile elements in the population took a long while, at least a century. The chronological estimates of the book of Judges, taken consecutively, imply much more time than one hundred years for this process, but, without doubt, many of the judges were contemporaneous. It is impossible to be very certain about dates in this early period. We can, however, be very sure regarding the general trend of events. The great leaders are Joshua and the "judges" who arose in times of emergency. It is rather unfortunate that they should have been described by that title. They were really natural leaders of the people, who at times of crisis and by common consent assumed command until the danger had been passed. In consequence of their great service to the people they exercised much popular influence as long as they lived. They were not magistrates but men of influence, preparing their countrymen by their prowess and their faith to enter upon a real national life under chosen leaders. Like any pioneering age in history, our North American beginnings not excepted, this early period reflects crudeness, cruelty and crime. It also exhibits enterprise and idealism, which redeem in some measure the violence and ruthlessness. The men of Israel in these early days must be judged by the most enlightened standards of their age, but such standards were far inferior to those of the time of Christ or of today. They had not reached their full moral growth.

The most important authority for this early period is

the book of Judges, supplemented by the books of Ruth, Joshua and First Samuel 1-3 for many details.

The book of Judges, like those which we have been studying, is the work of more than one writer. It has a *preface* (1:1 to 2:5) designed to explain the condition of affairs at the beginning of the history which the book relates; a *main portion* (2:6 to 16:31) which tells the stories of the judges; and an *appendix* (17 to 21) which describes the origin of the sanctuary at Dan and the outrage at Gibeah. The main portion has an *introduction* (2:6 to 3:6) which sets forth the principles of interpretation illustrated in what follows. The remaining chapters (3:7 to 16:31) give seven stirring stories of the hero days when the men of Israel fought for their homes. Each story is set in a sort of framework, best illustrated in case of Othniel (3:7-11), which gives a chronological estimate and interprets the occasion and the nature of the work of each judge. Evidently the one who set the earlier, popular tales about the judge-heroes into this interpretative framework was the real author of the book of Judges.

(140.) **Palestine Considered Geographically.** We have already noted (§26) the strategic location of Palestine in the ancient world. It was a highway of nations and an excellent post of observation and education. But it was to become for the Hebrew people a home for centuries. From the day they entered Palestine, the Hebrews began to develop into the resourceful, patriotic, democratic, thoughtful people who taught the world about God. The country in which they lived had something to do with this growth.

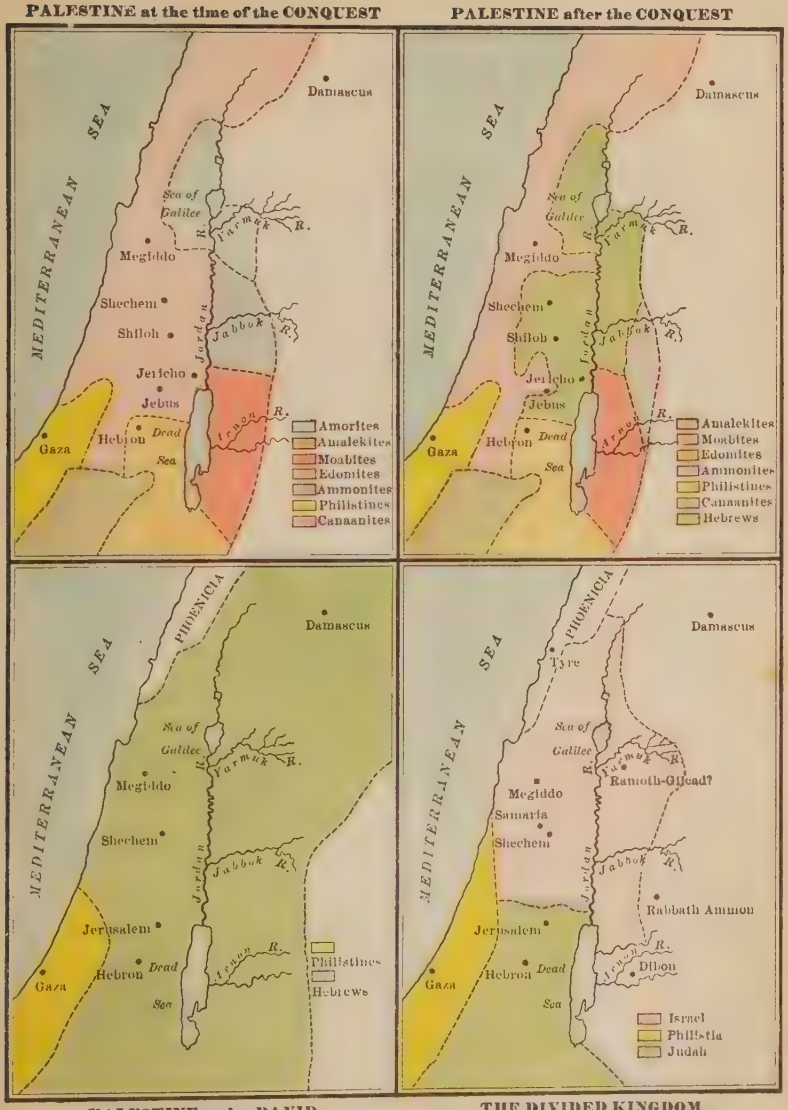
To know Palestine geographically, one must distinguish clearly at least nine details. (1) *The coast plains*, especially of Sharon and Philistia; (2) *The mountainous backbone* of western Palestine, distinguished in the Bible by locality as the "hill-country" of Galilee, Ephraim, or Judah (Joshua 20:7); (3) *The "lowland"* (*shephelah*) or the foothills between the Philistine plain and the elevated Judean plateau (Joshua 11:16); (4) *The "South"* (*Negeb*, "the dry"), which is the gradual descent of the

Judean plateau into the desert; (5) *The "wilderness,"* the dry, rounded hills on the east of the Judean plateau, descending in three great terraces to the Jordan valley below; (6) *The Jordan valley*, the deep depression known as the *Arabah*, running from Mt. Hermon to the Gulf of Akabah; (7) *The great plateau* of Bashan, Moab and Edom, climbing very abruptly on the western side, but edging off into the desert; (8) *The plain of Esdraelon*, which breaks the continuity of the mountain range of western Palestine, and (9) *The three mountains*, Mount Hermon, Mount Carmel and Mount Gerizim.*

These closely knit plains, valleys, plateaus, gorges and mountains afforded, on the one hand, a wonderful variety of climate and product, and fashioned, on the other, many little pockets of land, each capable of supporting a group of people, who were secluded enough to be able to develop in their own individual way. The Rechabites who at the command of their ancestor preserved their desert asceticism for two centuries and a half (Jer. 35: 1-10), were no anomaly. All kinds of people could live and grow in Palestine, side by side. The conditions fostered independence rather than imitation. They explain the slowness of the actual conquest and the long continuance of such foes as the Jebusites at Jerusalem, who maintained their independence until the days of David's kingdom.

(141.) **The Nations Inhabiting and Surrounding Palestine.** Such passages as Gen. 15: 19-21; Exod. 3: 8, or Joshua 3: 10, suggest that little Palestine was crowded with warlike nations. Of these seven peoples, however, the Hittites were, at the time of the invasion, represented only by small and scattered groups, not very dangerous; the Girgashites, Perizzites and Hivites were, in all probability, small Canaanitish groups; the Jebusites were the inhabitants of Jebus or Jerusalem. The Amorites and Canaanites were either the same people or closely related peoples, representing two successive invasions of the country. Both names are found on the monuments. Practically speaking, the Hebrews had only one formidable people to displace, the Canaanite-Amorite contingent.

*To gain a true impression of these features consult a relief map.


PALESTINE at the time of the CONQUEST
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Damascus
Sea of Galilee
Megiddo
Shechem
Shiloh
Jericho
Jebus
Hebron
Dead Sea
Gaza
Jordan R.
Jabbok R.
Arnon R.
Amorites
Amalekites
Moabites
Edomites
Ammonites
Philistines
Canaanites
PALESTINE after the CONQUEST
Amalekites
Moabites
Edomites
Ammonites
Philistines
Canaanites
Hebrews
PALESTINE under DAVID
PHOENICIA
Jerusalem
Philistines
Hebrews
THE DIVIDED KINGDOM
Tyre
Ramoth-Gilead?
Samaria
Rabbath Ammon
Dibon
Israel
Philistia
Judah

The Canaanites had entered Canaan some six centuries earlier, the Amorites perhaps four centuries earlier still. They were virtually one people, but they lived in small, separated groups, which were relatively easy to subdue. (§ 57, 132.)

Round about the country was a chain of kingdoms, large and small. Down on the fertile maritime plain west of Judah, the Philistines had just established themselves. The records of the reign of Ramses III in Egypt declare that among the aggressive hordes from the north which twice threatened to invade and plunder his kingdom and whose destruction practically wrecked its strength for generations were the Pulista or Peleset (Philistines). They gained a foothold on the coast of Palestine and stayed there. They were a hardy and warlike people and became Israel's most dangerous foe during the early days of national growth.

Further to the north the Phoenician kingdoms were already ancient. The Arameans or Syrians were just in the process of pushing down toward Damascus from the northeast. On the east and southeast were the peoples akin to the Hebrews,—the Ammonites, Moabites and Edomites.

(142.) **Israel's Providential Opportunity.** The student of ancient history realizes that the Hebrews entered Canaan at exactly the right time. Prior to the devastating warfare of the Egyptians with the Hittites, the people of Canaan would have been too powerful for the Hebrews to conquer. The invasions of the northern hordes down through Syria and Palestine, which broke the power of both Egypt and the Hittites, were also fatal to that of the Canaanites, and made the task of the Hebrews far easier. They entered the land at a time when its defensive power had been reduced to its minimum.

In another way the Hebrew people were very fortunate. No great Asiatic power was in a position for several centuries to deal aggressively with the people of Palestine. Assyria under the great Tiglath-pileser I (about 1120-1090 B.C.) greatly increased her territory and influence. He made his way even to the Phoenician coast, but

luckily went no further. His successes made Assyria feared by all other peoples, and secured a peaceful development of his own country. His successors were men of moderate ability. Babylonia was not strong enough to displace Assyria as an Asiatic power, but was just strong enough to dispute her supremacy. Neither nation was able for over two hundred years to assume the role of a world conquering power. Their weakness combined with that of Egypt and of the Hittites gave to the Arameans and to the Hebrews their chance for development.

1. The Speedy Conquest of Canaan. (Joshua 1-12; Judges 1.)

(143.) This section describes the crossing of the Jordan under Joshua's leadership, the capture of Jericho and Ai, the defeat of the allied kings of the southern country, and the equally successful northern campaign.

From what headquarters did Joshua plan the campaign against Jericho? (Jos. 2: 1; Num. 33: 49.) Why was it desirable to capture Jericho? What did his spies discover regarding the feeling in Jericho? (Jos. 2: 11, 24.) What made the Israelites sure that Jehovah was still guiding their way? (Jos. 3: 7-17.) What solemn memorial was set up of His wonderful providence? (4: 4-8.) How was Jericho captured? (6: 3-5.) By what stratagem was Ai taken? (8: 10-29.) How did the Gibeonites save themselves from destruction? (9: 3-6, 9-15.) What enabled Joshua to win the battle of Beth-horon against the five allied kings? (10: 5-14.) What was his policy in dealing with these Canaanitish peoples? (10: 28-39.) What special privilege did the aged Caleb ask and receive? (Jos. 14: 6-15; Jud. 1: 20.) What happened to many of the conquered Canaanites? (Jud. 1: 19, 21, 27, 28.)

(144.) **The Crossing of the Jordan and the Fall of Jericho.** These two events were of first importance in the story of the Hebrew people, almost as much so as the great Deliverance. Hebrew poets and story tellers loved to recount the thrilling episodes which introduced the acquisition of their national home. God's share in the

task was very clear to them. As in the case of the narrative of the Deliverance (§ 114) the story of the crossing of the Jordan is a combination of more than one earlier account of the event. One of these, apparently the earliest, was relatively straightforward and simple. It represented Joshua as encouraging his people to expect the aid of Jehovah in their emergency, and declared that, at a time when the crossing was unanticipated (3:15) by the Canaanites and unopposed, something happened far up the river, perhaps a distant landslide, which dammed the river temporarily and left its bed exposed, so that the Israelites got across.* The other narrative greatly magnified Joshua (3:7, 8; 4:9, 10, 14) and the part played by the priests and the sacred ark. It also seemed to state that the water of the Jordan stood just above the pathway of Israel, like a wall (3:16*a*). The second narrative is no more reverent than the first. It seems to reflect a priestly idealization of the scene. In the story of the capture of Jericho the oldest narrative stated that the little army marched around the city in silence for six days, then captured it with a cheer and a sudden dash. Such tactics agree with Joshua's generalship in other battles (8:10-21; 10:9). Whether the sudden collapse of the city walls is to be explained by a divinely ordered earthquake or figuratively, as an expression of the astonishing ease with which it was captured, no one can surely say. The capture of Jericho was followed by its destruction. The way was then wide open for the advance of the Hebrews into Western Palestine by either or each of three roads, one leading to the central part

*The blending of narratives is quite apparent to a careful reader. 3:17 implies that the people have crossed over; 4:4,5 assumes that they are still about to cross. 3:12 and 4:2 are obvious duplicates. 4:9 says that the memorial stones were set up in the middle of the river; 4:20 declares that they were set up in Gilgal. These narratives agreed on the essential facts, but seem to have varied in details.

To get the oldest narrative underscore with a pencil the following (R. V.), 3:1, 5, 9, 10*a* (to "you"), 11, 13, 15*a* (to "Jordan"), 15*c* (from "for"), 16 (omitting from "which" to "and"); 4:1 (last phrase only), 3 (omitting the first phrase to "saying," and from "out" to "firm," 6, 7, 8 (omitting the first phrase to "commanded" and the words from "as" to "Israel"), 10 (last seven words only), 11, 18.

of the country, a very difficult one leading quite directly to Jerusalem, and a third which turned to the southwest leading to the center and south of what came to be called Judah.*

(145.) **The Conquest of the South.** The first twelve chapters of the book of Joshua must be supplemented by the first chapter of the book of Judges. The latter shows that the swift campaigning of Joshua merely crushed the active and dangerous Canaanitish opposition. Canaan was really won piecemeal. Since it was a country of little cities and towns, very independent and usually hostile to one another, the task of getting an individual foothold was relatively easy for the Hebrew tribesmen. The process of making Palestine the land of the Hebrews was tediously slow. It was in large measure a process of incorporation and assimilation. Such passages as Joshua 10:29-43 or 11:10-23, which declare the merciless slaughter of all the Canaanites, must be regarded as the application by the editor to the whole campaign of what was true here and there. Jericho was "devoted" (6:17) and Ai and Bethel (Jud. 1:22-25). Such wholesale slaughter of captives taken in war seemed wholly justifiable to the Hebrews whom Joshua led. They may have practised it wherever possible. But the result was not an extirpation of the Canaanites; it was merely the gaining of a foothold in Western Palestine.

When the central camp had been established at Gilgal (Joshua 5:10; 9:6) the Hebrews advanced by two lines of invasion, one toward the southwest into the highlands of Judah, one in a northwesterly direction into the highlands of southern Samaria. The tribes of Judah and Simeon with the Kenites (Jud. 1:1-20) established themselves in the hill-country south of Jerusalem and gradually extended their possessions southward. For the next century they were rather isolated from the other tribes by a barrier of uncaptured Canaanitish strongholds

*For a map drawn on a scale which shows these roads see George Adam Smith, *Histor., Geog., Holy Land*, Plate IV facing page 167.

from Gezer to Jerusalem, including Gibeon, Ajalon and Shaalbim (Jud. 1:35).

(146.) **The Conquest of the Central and Northern Country.** When Judges 1:22-36 is carefully compared with Joshua 7-12, it is clear that Ephraim and Manasseh (Jud.1:22) under Joshua's leadership took the northwesterly road to the central uplands. They captured Ai and Bethel, made a treaty with the Gibeonites, defeated an alliance of Canaanitish kinglets who had combined to punish Gibeon, and pursued the routed army down into the maritime plain. How much more these tribes achieved and what the others did are obscure. Joshua 8:30-35 describes a solemn service held near Shechem, which assumes that central Palestine has been conquered. The eleventh chapter records the defeat at Merom by Joshua of a coalition of northern kings, after which the whole land was at rest. But Judges 1:27 explicitly declares that a second barrier of strong, uncaptured Canaanitish cities, Megiddo, Taanach, Ibleam and Bethshean, extended across the plain of Esdraelon.* Apparently, therefore, such passages as Joshua 10:40-42; 11:16-23; 21:43-45 and chapter 23 cannot be interpreted with entire literalness. Jehovah's promise stood fulfilled for the man who had the eye of faith to see the fulfilment. The factors were at work which would eventually bring success. Jehovah's purpose for His people was very clear. But for the Hebrews of the later days of Joshua's life there was still very much to be achieved.

(147.) **The Work of Joshua.** Joshua was a soldier with a soldier's virtues and weaknesses. He had been the loyal minister of Moses (Josh. 1: 1) and inherited some of his strength. (Deut. 34: 9; Num. 27: 18-23). On his own account he was resourceful, brave, and straightforward, a keen strategist and good leader. (Josh. 1: 10, 11; 2: 1.) He scarcely seems to be on a plane with Moses or with David, but he served Israel's interests well in the time of need, and deserves honorable recognition.

(148.) **The Entrance into Canaan a Step upward.** When

* See map, "Palestine after the Conquest," facing page 76.

the Hebrews crossed the Jordan they exchanged desert life for the settled life of farmers. Instead of being herdsmen, ranging the desert, they dwelt in towns and villages, owning land and tilling the soil. Politically, this helped to bind them together more closely; socially, it introduced them to a far more complex and cultured life; religiously, it enriched their worship, emphasizing the share of community, family and individual in it. All this was a great advance over earlier conditions. It has been customary to think of the entrance into Canaan as a step downward religiously. So it was in many respects. As the Hebrews gave up their nomadic habits and became accustomed to the life of Canaan, they tended to adopt the sacred places and many of the religious customs of the Canaanites. They sacrificed on the village "high places" (I Sam. 9:11-14), confused Jehovah with the local Baals of Canaan, made use of the symbolic "pillars" and the "asherah" (Jud. 6:26) and utilized soothsaying and necromancy. Even so, we may maintain that community religion was better than camping religion. The Hebrews were now in circumstances which promoted their rapid advance to higher levels. They remained loyal to Jehovah; they had from time to time leaders who realized what true loyalty meant and they had glorious traditions and sound ideals as a people.

2. The Migration of the Danites to the North. (Judges 17, 18; Josh. 19: 40-48; Judges 1: 34-36.)

(149.) This vivid story from the appendix to the book of Judges both explains the history of the location of the Danites in the northernmost part of Canaan, and throws much light upon the rude days immediately following the settlement in Canaan.

Where was the tribe of Dan first located? (Joshua 19: 41-46.) What forced it to find a new territory? (Judges 1: 34, 35.) At whose house did its explorers receive hospitality? (18: 2.) How had a shrine dedicated to Jehovah been established at this house? (17: 1-4.) By what addition had this shrine come to be

highly valued by Micah? (17: 7-13.) Where did the exploring party find a city that could be captured? (18: 7.) How did the migrating tribe provide itself with a shrine and a priest? (18: 14-27.) What sort of law did these rude pioneers seem to recognize? (17: 6.) To what redeeming fact do these rough, selfish impulses testify?

(150.) **The Low Standards of a Rude Age.** This narrative helps the student to understand the Hebrews of this early age. They were thoroughly loyal to Jehovah, their God, but committed many evils in His name. They were a crude, ambitious people, eager for settled homes and ready to capture them. They needed much training and enlightenment before they could in any sense become God's true representatives.

(151.) **The New Sanctuary.** The narrative describes the founding of the famous northern sanctuary at Dan. At first thought the acceptance as a sanctuary by the people of a shrine produced under the conditions so graphically related seems incredible. We must remember that the people of that day showed their loyalty to their God by having a sacred place and by making regularly certain prescribed or voluntary offerings. The moral element in worship was less clearly emphasized. A mean, cruel or thievish man might regard himself as a very acceptable worshipper if he performed his religious duties at the right time.

3. The Victory Over the Canaanitish Coalition. (Judges 4, 5.)

(152.) These chapters describe, in prose and in poetry, the final attempt of the Canaanites to combine to crush the Hebrews and how at the challenge of Deborah the tribesmen rallied to Jehovah's standard and won a decisive victory.

Under what general did the Canaanites assemble to crush the Hebrews? (4: 2; 5: 19, 20.) Who put fresh courage into the latter? (4: 4-6; 5: 7.) What tribes volunteered under the leadership of Barak? (5: 14, 15,

18.) What northern tribes contributed no warriors? (5: 16, 17.) Where did the battle take place? (4:13; 5:19.) What put those fighting in chariots at a disadvantage? (5: 4, 20, 21.) What happened to the defeated leader? (4: 17-22; 5: 24-27.) What was the result of this victory? (4: 24.)

(153.) **The Song of Deborah** (Judges 5). This vigorous poem is one of the oldest and finest examples of Hebrew poetical composition. It well illustrates the original records out of which such a history as that of the Hebrews at this period was made. It describes dramatically the crisis, the assembling of the tribal warriors, the fierce battle on the plain of Esdraelon, the death of Sisera and the hopeless waiting of his mother for his return, laden with spoil. Three interesting inferences may be made from the poem. (1) That the Hebrews thought of Jehovah as still making his chief abode at Sinai and as coming forth to lead His people to battle and traveling in the tempest to their aid; (2) that they could be stirred to their hearts by an appeal to their sense of unity; (3) that their political union had scarcely begun.

Both the poem and the prose account give first place to Deborah. In lofty patriotism, good judgment, vigor, and all qualities of leadership, she was worthy of this recognition, a remarkable woman.

(154.) **The Political and Religious Conditions Reflected by the Song.** To determine what a poet actually means is not easy. But this poem seems to suggest that Jehovah, Israel's God, came from Sinai to lead His people to battle, manifesting His presence by a terrible storm; that the people were rallied with difficulty; that the challenge to prove their loyalty to Jehovah was a successful war cry; and that the victory not only gave the Hebrews ascendancy over their foes, but knit them together more firmly than before. This great contest was really the first step toward the kingdom.

4. The Exploits of the Hebrew Heroes. (Judges 3:7 to 16:31.)

(155.) These chapters describe the exploits of thirteen "judges" (if Abimelech is counted), seven of whom are scarcely more than names. The stories about Gideon, Jepthah and Samson are representative.

With what invaders did Gideon have to deal? (6:3-6.) How did he assure himself of Jehovah's summons to leadership? (6:11-24.) By what strategem did he enable his little band of warriors to surprise and defeat his foes? (7.) What honor did his people desire to give him? (8:22.) Why did the elders of Gilead invite Jepthah, the freebooter, to become their general? (11:4-10.) What vow did Jepthah make? (11:30-31.) How was it performed? (11:34-40.) What was peculiar about Samson? (13:5.) In what ways did he show his wonderful strength? (14:5-6; 15:9-16.) Against what people did he perform his exploits?

(156.) **Gideon in Central Palestine.** Gideon is the greatest of these heroes. He was a reformer as well as a military leader. Like Deborah, his soul was fired with religious patriotism. He helped to protect his people from the forays of the desert tribes, to which their situation made them liable. Apparently the sacred duty of blood vengeance (8:18-21) served as an immediate reason for his brave deed, but he acted for the tribes. He stands as a type of the resourceful, independent, sturdy men who were ready to defend their new homes against all comers. The defeat he inflicted was so thorough that "the day of Midian" became a current illustration of Jehovah's intervention to save Israel (Isa. 9:4; 10:26; Ps. 83:9-12).

(157.) **Jepthah in the East Jordan Country.** Jepthah belonged in Gilead, across the Jordan, where his people were subjected to cruel pressure from the Ammonites. He was a man for the emergency, but otherwise he represented the least progressive among his people. His vow was sincere, but superstitious. No doubt he carried it out literally, as Saul was prepared to do later on. (I Sam. 14:39, 44.)

(158.) **Samson in the South.** The story of Samson has little religious value, but gives much insight into the popular life of the time. He is the sort of a hero whom the country people would love. His feats of strength, his tricks, his grim humor and his tragic death are what story-tellers delight to repeat. He was a Nazirite, that is, a man devoted by a special vow to Jehovah's service. The outward signs of his consecration were abstention from wine, keeping the hair uncut and ceremonial purity. Samuel (I Sam. 1:11) was a Nazirite and one who seemed to live in full accordance with the true religious ideal. Samson performed some brilliant exploits against the Philistines, who were beginning to threaten the Hebrews on the west. But he did all this individually and fitfully. His great powers were unregulated, his exploits were selfish and his life was immoral.

The Samson stories show that the Philistines were growing stronger and more aggressive. They had organized a federated state governed by five "lords" (Jud. 3:3) and were pushing vigorously east and north.

5. Glimpses of the Finer Life of these Rude Days. (Ruth; I Sam. 1-3.)

(159.) These narratives set forth the reverse of the preceding pictures and enable us to understand the rapid advance of the Hebrews.

What fine devotion led Ruth, the Moabitess, to become a woman of Judah? (Ruth 1.) In whose fields was she permitted to glean? (Ruth 2.) Of what great leader did she become the great-grandmother? How do we know that the family of Samuel were God-fearing people? (I Sam. 1:1-18.) What did Samuel's mother do with her boy? (1:19-28; 2:19.) What were his duties at Shiloh? (2:18; 3:1-3.) By what vision was he shown to be Jehovah's spokesman? (3:4-20.)

(160.) **The Story of Ruth.** This charming story testifies to its having been written long after the date of the incidents recorded, probably after the exile, when feeling ran high against those of foreign birth, and as an argu-

ment for toleration. The fact that Ruth, the Moabitess, was an ancestress of David was a blow to bigotry and narrowness. The social setting of the story gives it great value in emphasizing the finer side of Hebrew life. Probably it reflects that life at its best, like such passages as Ps. 127, 128; Prov. 31: 10-31; Job 29. But if idealized the story testifies to what the historian must assume to be true, viz., that there was a God-fearing, friendly, industrious, happy community life in early Israel.

(161.) **The Boy Samuel and His Mother.** An equally instructive and beautiful picture is given by the early chapters of First Samuel, recounting the birth and early training of Samuel. The quality of the mother of Samuel explains his own greatness and suggests the important share of the godly women of the Hebrew race in its uplift. His contact as a boy with the venerable and godly, though weak-willed, Eli and his duties at the sanctuary, made him a sober-minded, clear-thinking, promising lad, a sharp contrast to the self-seeking sons of Eli.

6. The Israel of 1050 B.C.

(162.) **A Survey at the Close of the Judges Period.** *Viewed geographically.* The Hebrews had become well established in their permanent homes, mainly on the hills. They were in four rather distinct sections. A little wedge of Canaanitish cities still intervened (§ 145) between the southern tribes, Judah and Simeon, and the central tribes, Benjamin, Ephraim and Manasseh. The plain of Esdraelon divided the central tribes from those in the north, Issachar, Zebulon, Naphtali, Asher and Dan.* The cities which had once made a hostile zone of defense (§ 146) had been captured or weakened, yet the plain remained a natural barrier. The fourth group, Reuben and Gad, or Gilead, occupied the country east of Jordan. This four-fold distinction continued as long as the Hebrews did. In New Testament times the divisions were called Judah, Samaria, Galilee and Perea.

Viewed politically. The attacks by Moab, Edom and Ammon had ceased, but the Philistines had begun to

*For these details see the map facing page 76.

show their strength and aggressiveness. The Hebrews were very democratic and hesitated to acknowledge one permanent leader. They showed, however, that they cherished a sense of unity and could get together when they had to do so.

Viewed socially. The change from pastoral to agricultural life opened a new and enticing world of experience to the Hebrew. The influence of Canaanitish civilization was very strong and not, by any means, entirely objectionable. The people of Canaan represented a higher stage of social efficiency.

Viewed religiously. This century prepared the way for progress, but showed very little of it. Jehovah was the God of Israel and the people were loyal to Him, but they recognized the existence of the gods of other peoples, too (Judges 11: 21-24). The Ark, which symbolized His presence, was kept with every token of reverence in a sanctuary at Shiloh in charge of a priest of dignified standing. There were other sanctuaries at Dan (Jud. 18: 30), Ophrah (8: 27), Mizpah (11: 11), Gilgal and Bethel. Regular sacrifices, feasts and special vows were a part of the religious life. Probably the most representative Hebrews practised a simple family religion (I Sam. 1: 3, 4, 9-18, 22, 24-28; 2:18-20; 9:14, 22-24; 20: 6, 29), which was an active, healthy moral force. Other Israelites came perilously near to idolatry and Canaanitish excesses.

VI.

THE GRADUAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HEBREW KINGDOM, 1050 TO 937 B.C. (I AND II SAM; I KINGS 1-11.)

(163.) The century or more which includes the careers of Samuel, Saul, David and Solomon was in some respects the most brilliant period of Israel's life. The record of its events describes the gradual organization of the independent groups of people into a real nation, mainly under the resistless leadership of David, and the brief glory of the empire he established. The story of the age is told in the finest series of historical sketches in the whole Bible,

crowded with incident, character portrayal and surveys. The date of the beginning of the period is only relatively certain; the date of its conclusion is supported by independent chronological data.

(164.) **The Books of Samuel.** These two books were originally one. They tell a connected story about Samuel, Saul and David, which concludes with I Kings 2. They represent the finest standards of Hebrew history writing. The author of these books, whose name no one will ever know, was a man of prophetic spirit, who preached to his generation through these historical details. His real theme was the share of Jehovah in the founding of the kingdom. He devoutly believed in the Providential guidance of the whole movement, and wrote the history to give his countrymen a similar conviction. It seems probable that he had before him as sources not only such original material as the Song of the Bow from the book of Jashar (II Sam. 1: 17-27) or the official summary of the royal recorder (II Sam. 8: 15-18), but more than one collection in written form of stories about Samuel and about David and Saul. From this wealth of material, which was interesting and varied, he occasionally made long extracts (II Sam. 9-20). His work was not, however, a mechanical piecing together of extracts. He forced the data to tell a straightforward, convincing and fascinating story of the rapid unification of the Hebrews under the masterly leadership of Samuel and David. The history separates into four natural sections: (1) I Sam. 4-14, the story of the establishment of Saul as king with Samuel's help; (2) I Sam. 15 to II Sam. 5: 5, the preparation of David at court and in exile for the kingship; (3) II Sam. 6-20 and I Kings 1, 2, the brilliant but varied reign of David over all Israel; (4) II Sam. 21-24, an appendix of miscellaneous content. These two books are thus the product of a long literary history (§ 19). The author's habit of quoting from his sources makes the books a source-collection of great value to the student of the events, personalities, religious ideas and religious growth of the days of the kingdom.

1. The Inauguration of the Kingdom Under Samuel. (I Sam. 4-14.)

(165.) As Samuel grew to manhood he seemed to win the confidence of his people. They recognized him as a real "man of God." He became somehow the one man in Israel who could lead the people. Thus he was able to render the supreme service of his life, the inauguration of the kingdom. How this came about is not wholly clear to the historian. There are two strands of narrative in these chapters, one an early, clear and consistent story, which represents the kingdom as a gracious gift of Jehovah for the blessing of his people, Samuel, at Jehovah's command, anointing Saul as the first king (9:16). This early narrative (9:1 to 10:16; 11; 13; 14) begins abruptly with the introduction of Saul and recognizes Samuel as an influential local prophet and patriot of Ephraim. The much later narrative (7:3 to 8:22; 10:17-27; 12) represents Samuel as the recognized "judge" of all Israel, a man of supreme authority, who thought that the desire for a king was a rejection of Jehovah, and furthered it with reluctance. The two points of view were skilfully knit into one narrative by the author of the books of Samuel, but they are not readily reconcilable in details. The outstanding and certain fact is that Samuel was the link which bound together the period of the judges and that of the monarchy. He launched Israel's first king on his strange career.

(1.) The humiliation of the Hebrews by their Philistine neighbors. (I Sam. 4: 1 to 7: 2; 13: 3-6, 16-23.)

(166.) These chapters recount the war with the Philistines which resulted in Israel's defeat and the capture of the Ark, the adventures of the Ark and the severity of the Philistine yoke.

When the Philistines had won the first battle with the Israelites, of what expedient did the latter make use to insure a victory? (4: 2-4.) What effect did this have upon the Philistines? (4: 6-10.) What series of misfortunes resulted at Shiloh from the tidings of their cap-

ture of the sacred Ark? (4: 11-22.) What series of misfortunes befell the Philistines in their own country, making them glad to return the Ark? (5: 1 to 6: 16.) Where did the Ark rest for a long time? (7: 1, 2.) How did the Philistines keep their hold upon the Hebrews? (10: 5; 13: 3, 19, 22.) What showed the severity of their dealings? (13: 5-7; 9: 16.)

(167.) **The Philistines.** This strong people lived in the maritime plain from the days of Joshua until at least the sixth century B.C. They came over the sea, perhaps from Crete (Amos 9: 7; Jer. 47: 4), and were, according to the records of Ramses III of the twentieth dynasty, a part of the northern horde which nearly conquered Egypt. Five strong Philistine cities each ruled by a "lord" formed a confederacy, effective for defense or offense. The Philistines were an enterprising, energetic people, sure to come, sooner or later, into conflict with the Hebrews (§ 141).

(168.) **The Capture of the Ark.** There was no marked inequality between the Hebrews and the Philistines. The latter were better organized and led, hence they defeated the Hebrews, notwithstanding the heartening presence of the Ark. The carrying of the Ark in triumph to Ashdod was a natural method of celebrating the victory over the Hebrews and their Jehovah. The pestilence which attacked the Philistines they interpreted as Jehovah's answer to this desecration and lost no time in restoring the Ark to its own land, with every mark of honor.

(169.) **The Philistine Supremacy.** It is evident that the Philistines followed up the victories at Ebenezer. They established fortresses at various points in central Palestine, and quickly suppressed any manifestation of rebellion against their authority. They also deprived the Hebrews of weapons as far as possible (13: 19, 22). No wonder that "a cry" (9: 16) had gone up from many loyal Israelitish hearts to Jehovah, their divine leader for deliverance from this hated yoke.

(2.) THE CHOICE OF SAUL AS KING THROUGH SAMUEL, THE PROPHET. (I Sam. 9:1 to 11:15.)

(170.) This fascinating narrative introduces us to Saul, the brave warrior. It describes his meeting with Samuel, the latter's announcement to Saul of what God had in store for him, and how Saul gave clear evidence to all of his powers of leadership.

What sort of a man was Saul? (9:2.) What errand on his father's behalf brought him near Samuel's home? (9:3-5.) What led him to look for Samuel? (9:6-10.) For whom had Samuel been watching that day? (9:15-17.) What four surprising statements did he make to Saul? (9:19-21.) In what four ways did Samuel seek to impress Saul with the great responsibility to which he was called? (9:22 to 10:8.) In what way was this call confirmed at Mizpah? (10:17-24.) By what brave exploit did Saul win the hearts of the people? (11:1-15.)

(171.) **The Young Man Saul.** If the Israelites were groaning under the Philistine yoke and longing for a leader, Saul was well fitted to arouse their enthusiastic loyalty. He was of noble family, attractive in person, of kingly stature. While modest in estimating his own powers (9:21; 10:22) he had been dreaming of deliverance. (9:19.) When Samuel gave him the place of distinction at the feast at Ramah, personally cared for his comfort, consecrated him for his great task, furnished him with a series of tests whose fulfilment might give him certitude, and then warned him to be ready for God's summons to duty (10:7), Saul was brought face to face with the great task of leadership. The quietness (10:16), with which he awaited God's own signal for action was a further proof of his capacity.

(172.) **The Prophet Bands.** On his way homeward Saul was met by a band of prophets in procession led by music. Such bands are first mentioned in this age and in connection with Samuel. They seem to be religious enthusiasts whose principal purpose in banding themselves together was to arouse the patriotic zeal of the people so that they would fight for Jehovah and their homeland.

With their motives and methods Saul was in full sympathy. Out of such dervish-like groups as these came the men of religious fervor and patriotic zeal, who, under Samuel's leadership, organized the prophetic brotherhood which played so important a part in the religious development of the nation for the next few centuries. Zeal rather than culture was their distinguishing characteristic in Saul's day, but men who are at least thoroughly in earnest concerning matters of moment are the very men whom God can develop into men of rare usefulness.

(173.) **The Choice of Saul as King.** The attack of the Ammonites upon Jabesh-Gilead gave Saul his eagerly awaited opportunity. Summoning the tribesmen far and near to rally to the relief of their beleaguered kinsmen, he made a forced march, surprised the Ammonites and scattered them. Returning to Gilgal, the victorious Hebrews, under the advice of Samuel, and with solemn ceremony, made Saul their king. It was an auspicious beginning of a new order of social and political life, in which the Hebrews were to learn the blessings of a spirit of unity. They had far to go, for they were an independent, self-reliant people by nature. But the hearty support of Samuel, the proven prowess of Saul, and the dangerous dominance of the Philistines combined to create a strong sentiment in favor of a permanent king and all that such royalty involved. Several centuries later a historian of these days regarded the step taken by the people at this time as a retrogression from an earlier ideal condition. To his mind the kingdom was the only feasible outcome of a difficult situation, but one to be deplored. The historian of today inclines rather to the view of the earliest source that the establishment of the kingdom was a real step of progress.

(3.) SAUL'S SPLENDID DELIVERANCE OF HIS PEOPLE FROM THEIR FOES. (I Sam. 13, 14.)

(174.) This stirring narrative recounts the attempt of the Philistines to crush promptly the movement toward

Hebrew unity, the heroic exploit of Jonathan, and the great victory of the Hebrews over the Philistines.

By whose act was war declared against the Philistines? (13:3.) What was the first effect upon Saul's forces of the prompt Philistine advance? (Compare 13:2 with 13:6, 8, 15.) How did the Philistines show their over-confidence? (13:17, 18; 14:11, 12.) What was the secret of Jonathan's courage? (14:6.) By what exploit did he throw the Philistine garrison at Michmash into a panic? (14:6-15.) How was this turned by Saul and others into a rout? (14:19-22.) What unwise command did Saul issue? (14:24.) Who unwittingly violated the ban he imposed? (14:27.) When Saul discovered by the sacred lot that Jonathan was the culprit, what was he about to do? (14:36-44.) Were the people right in preventing the act? (14:45.) How did Saul strengthen his kingdom? (14:47, 48, 52.)

(175.) **The Over-Confidence of the Philistines.** The Philistines evidently underrated the Hebrews. Hearing of Jonathan's attack upon their outpost at Gibeah, they promptly advanced up the pass of Beth-horon to Michmash. Saul's levies became panic stricken, and most of them fled. Finding no opposition, the Philistines sent out parties to plunder. This was Jonathan's opportunity. His test questions (14:9, 10), revealed to him their spirit of over-confidence. His intrepidity took them by surprise, and threw them into a confusion from which they had no chance to rally. They really defeated themselves.

(176.) **Saul's Foolish Vow.** With the Philistines in full flight toward the valley of Ajalon, Saul, in his anxiety to win a decisive victory, laid a ban on the Hebrew who should stop to eat before nightfall. It was a rash, undiscriminating measure, which Jonathan with his usual good sense condemned as soon as he heard of it. Before the day was over the energies of the pursuing Hebrews were wholly exhausted and their overwhelming advantage was lost.

Later on, when Saul discovered that Jonathan, his son,

had broken the ban, it seemed to him, as to Jepthah, that the punishment of death must be executed, or else God would be dishonored. With fine manhood, Jonathan calmly accepted the consequences of his unwitting sin. "I did, indeed, taste . . . ; here I am. I will die." (14: 43.) There was no note of complaint in his answer. Fortunately the good sense of the people prevailed over their superstition, and prevented the useless sacrifice.

(177.) **Saul's Early Reign.** The length of time covered by these chapters is unknown. Even 13: 1 throws no light when properly rendered. It should read "Saul was (?) years old when he began to reign, and he reigned (?) and two years over Israel." An exact parallel with the figures inserted instead of being omitted is found in I Kings 22: 42. It is the customary formula with which the story of a reign is introduced. The only Biblical estimate of the length of Saul's reign is found in Acts 13: 21, which uses the round number "forty." Modern estimates are but little more than half that number of years.

As the summary in 14: 47-52 shows, the earlier part of Saul's reign was full of activity. The Philistines made no united attempt to win back the control of central Canaan until the very close of his reign. They were often making skirmishes or raids, however. The other petty nationalities, such as Ammon, Moab, Edom and such tribesmen as the Amalekites, Saul soon inspired with a wholesome respect for his prowess.

Gibeah, Saul's home, was a central, well-protected, commanding situation. He made it his capital, and held court out "under the tamarisk tree on the hill." He cared little for the trappings of royalty, bearing himself like a chieftain among his vassals rather than like a king encircled by courtiers. His was a democratic rough-and-ready sovereignty, his own tribesmen forming his immediate and dependable circle (22: 6-8).

2. The Deterioration of Saul and the Gradual Preparation of David for Leadership. (I Sam. 15-31; II Sam. 1:1 to 5:5.)

(178.) The interest of the reader is transferred abruptly from Saul to David. The former is discredited; the latter is the man of promise to whom every one is looking. The tragedy of Saul's life contrasts in striking fashion with the growing strength and success of David. The career of David is sketched in a series of connected, vivid narratives of high literary merit, invaluable to the student of Israel's religious, social and political life. Occasional duplications reveal the varied sources on which the writer drew. The resultant impression of these fine tales is the conviction that Jehovah planned and guided the whole course of events.

(1.) David's training for leadership at court and as an outlaw. (I Sam. 15-26.)

(179.) These chapters trace David's consecration, appointment at court, victory, promotion, court life, flight, and life in the desert. For the continuous story of his appointment to court and fight with Goliath pass from 17:11 directly to 17:32.

How did Samuel become wholly estranged from Saul? (15.) Where was Samuel directed to find a successor for him? (16:1-5.) How was his mission accomplished? (16:6-13.) How came David to be made one of Saul's attendants? (16:14-23.) What was the boastful challenge of the Philistine champion? (17:1-11.) How did David persuade Saul to permit him to meet it? (17:32-37.) What was the outcome of the encounter? (17:40-54.) How was Saul's jealousy aroused? (18:6-9, 16.) In what ways did Saul try to get rid of him? (18:10 to 19:10.) When David fled to Ramah and Saul followed him, what happened to Saul? (19:18-24.) How did Jonathan discover that Saul was fixed in his murderous purpose? (20.) What was Jonathan's attitude to David? (18:1-4; 19:1-7; 20:1-4, 12-17, 41-42; 23:16-18.) How did Ahimelech the priest help David in his flight from Saul?

(21: 1-9.) What were the sad consequences of his friendliness? (22: 6-19.) Trace David's wanderings until he returned to Judah? (21: 10 to 22: 5.) How did he get a band of followers? (22: 1, 2.) What action did Saul take regarding David? (23, 24.) Show how the story of Abigail reveals David's growing strength? (25.) In what way was Saul finally induced to forego his pursuit of David? (26.)

(180.) **The Knightly Jonathan.** One of the most attractive portraits in the Old Testament is that of Jonathan. He had a brave and noble soul. He was all that Saul should have been. His prowess (13: 3; 14: 6-14), good judgment (14: 29, 30; 20: 2), frankness (14: 43), warm heartedness (18: 3, 4), and clear visioned loyalty to David (20; 23: 16-18), were admirable. In David's impressionable years his close friendship with such a trustworthy, faithful, large-minded, disinterested, self-sacrificing nature was providential. David did not overstate Jonathan's affectionate friendship in II Sam. 1: 26.

(181.) **Saul's Growing Madness.** The closing years of Saul's reign were unhappy ones. He had forfeited the support and friendship of Samuel. He became bitterly jealous of David, his popular officer. With occasional flashes of his old, energetic, companionable self, he settled into a morose brooding, which was dangerous. How much this was due to disease and how far to the stirrings of conscience we are not told. The effect of it all was to make him an uncontrollable and dangerous despot, feared by all, rapidly losing his hold upon people and kingdom.

(182.) **David's Experience at Court.** David came to Saul's court a young man of unusual physique and prowess. His surroundings there were a good school for the future ruler. All the people could know him. He met constantly the leaders of every class. He became acquainted with the problems and needs of the people. He was trained as a soldier in managing bodies of men. All phases of his experience were of great value to David. So wonderfully did he respond to their stimulus that among the people (25: 28-31) and the leaders alike

(23: 17) arose the conviction that David was the coming ruler of the Hebrew people.

(183.) **His Career as an Outlaw.** The description of David's men in 22:2 may be misunderstood. His six hundred men were not a collection of rascals but of men broken in fortune, often, probably, through persecution. Such deeds as theirs were deeds of brave men, wholly loyal to David. Many of them became David's trusted nobles. His intimate companionship with such men among the vicissitudes of outlaw life was a valuable factor in preparing him for royalty. The close and friendly contact with the people who were to be his subjects was equally helpful. David did not need to wage war with Saul. His battle was being fought for him. For three illustrations of his need of growth note 25: 21, 22; 26: 19 and 27: 9-11. He was the idol of his men, the devoted servant of Jehovah, yet crude in his religious ideas and capable of deeds of great cruelty. He needed all kinds of experience and instruction before he could become the man of God's choice.

(2.) SAUL'S DEATH AND DAVID'S ELECTION AS KING. (I Sam. 27-31; II Sam. 1: 1 to 5: 5.)

(184.) This section describes the events which concluded in the attack of the Philistines which caused Saul's death, thus opening the way for the choice of David as king.

Into what adjoining country did David finally take refuge? (27: 1-4.) Where did he make his home? (27: 5-7.) How did he show loyalty to Achish, while refraining from injuring his own people? (27: 8-12.) How did Achish reward him? (28: 1-2.) When the Philistines invaded central Canaan to attack Saul, how was David saved from disloyalty? (29.) How did he turn to good advantage the Amalekite raid on Ziklag? (30.) What did Saul do in his despair, when he faced the Philistines? (28: 3-25.) What was his fate? (31: 1-6.) How did the men of Jabesh-Gilead honor him? (31: 8-13.) How did David hear the sad news? (II Sam.

1: 1-16.) How did he express his grief? (1: 17-27.) By what portion of the Hebrew tribes was David accepted as king and where was his capital? (2: 1-4, 11, 32; 3: 2-5, 19-21.) Who ruled over the other tribes? (2: 8-10.) How did Abner get into a blood feud with Joab? (2: 12-32.) How did this feud interfere with David's plans? (3: 12-39.) After the murder of Ishbosheth, what action did the people of all Israel take toward David? (5: 1-5.)

(185.) **The Providence Surrounding David.** No better illustration of the way in which David was saved from fatal errors can be found than that given during the closing year or two of the life of Saul. Forced to become a vassal of Achish, the Philistine, David was enabled to avoid a breaking of faith on the one hand or the injury of his countrymen on the other. Right at the moment of his severest test (I Sam. 28: 1, 2; 29: 2-11), the jealousy of the Philistine chieftains set him free. His great misfortune at Ziklag he converted into an occasion for making an important ruling (I Sam. 30: 24) recognized everywhere as just, and an opportunity to reward those who had befriended him when a homeless chieftain (30: 26-31). Every experience seemed to contribute to his strength.

(186.) **The Melancholy Close of Saul's Career.** The story of Saul's last days is full of gloom. His treatment had driven from him his ablest followers; he had alienated those who were devout (22: 11-19); a clear-headed woman and his own great-hearted son (25: 28; 23: 17) had expressed their certainty that his kingdom would pass to David; even Saul himself held that opinion (23: 17); he felt quite unable to cope with the Philistine army (28: 5). It was good evidence of his mental and moral collapse that he turned on the last night of his life to a medium that he might consult his old friend and guide, Samuel.

His actual death in the midst of the battle was characteristic of his old self. His army fled in confusion, but Saul and his sons bravely met their fate.

(187.) **David's Elegy.** There was a general feeling of sorrow among his subjects over the death of Saul and his

sons, but none of those who mourned were more sincere or more impressive in their grief than David. The touching poem of II Sam. 1 came from his heart. It is interesting not only because of its poetical beauty and its high-mindedness, but because it is a good specimen of the original material that must underlie and contribute to such a historical survey as First and Second Samuel. (Compare § 19, 164.)

(188.) **The Two Little Kingdoms.** It is quite probable that both David and Ishbosheth, whose real name was, probably, Ishbaal (I Chron. 9:39), were regarded as vassals by the Philistines and that each paid tribute. Under such conditions, the Philistines left them free to do as they would. Each king had a military leader of the first rank, who was jealous of the other. Their incidental warfare is described in order to introduce the men themselves, Joab and Abner, men without fear or conscience, ready for any act of violence, difficult of management even by David, whose policy had to be a waiting and watchful one. His effort at conciliation was thwarted by Joab, whose murder of Abner, however, gave the coveted throne of Israel to his master, David.

(189.) **The Reign of Saul over Israel.** Reviewing the whole reign of Saul from the standpoint of a secular historian, it seems to deserve more credit than First Samuel conveys. He was a capable and brave soldier and retained to the last the control of his people. In his day the leading tribes of the north and south were brought together. He extended his kingdom southward and northward (I Sam. 14: 47, 48). The hostile Canaanitish strongholds (§145) were reduced to one, that at Jerusalem. Moreover, his authority was so well established across the Jordan that Mahanaim became the refuge and capital of his son (II Sam. 2:8). The savagery and vindictiveness of his last years were due largely, no doubt, to mental disease. But with all his bravery he combined rashness, self-will and insubordination. His career was ruined by himself. He was religious after a fashion (I Sam. 28:9; 14: 35), but he could not understand such a man as Samuel nor

the great issues which he represented. Consequently he deprived himself and his throne of its strongest support and made ultimate failure a certainty. Notwithstanding all this, it is also true that David's brilliant reign was made possible by reason of Saul's achievements.

3. The Firm Establishment of the United Kingdom Under David. (II Sam. 5:6 to I Ki. 2:11.)

(190.) The story of the reign of David over united Israel is, in the main, an unbroken narrative, compelling in its interest and of great ethical value. It tells the story of David, not merely to call attention to his greatness, but to show also the plain secret of his misfortunes. It sets forth vividly the long train of inevitable consequences that followed upon his deliberate sin against his faithful henchman and against his own conscience. He was his own worst foe. This long narrative which extends from the ninth chapter to the appendix, and originally included the first two chapters of First Kings, is so crowded with lifelike details that it must have been substantially contemporaneous. The writer of the present books of Samuel incorporated it with little or no change.

The chronology of David's reign is almost as obscure as that of the reign of Saul. The number "forty" (5:4) is so uniformly a round number in the Old Testament that even the exactness of the verse following is not convincing. Unquestionably, however, the reign of David over the whole nation was relatively long, for much was achieved in the course of it. Perhaps the existence of a keeper of chronicles or "recorder" as a royal officer (8:16) at David's court should increase the probability of the estimate recorded in 5:5.

(1.) Jerusalem captured and made the capital of the united and emancipated kingdom. (II Sam. 5:6 to 6:23; 21:15-22; 23:8-19.)

(191.) These passages describe the severe but victorious contests of David with the Philistines, his capture of

Jerusalem in order to make it his capital and his centralization there of all the interests of his people.

What was the outcome of the prompt invasion of David's territory by the Philistines? (5: 17-25; 21: 15-22.) What value did David's men place upon him at this time? (21: 17.) What fine deed of heroism did the Three do? (23: 13-17.) How did David get possession of the Jebusite fortress? (5: 6-8, Compare I Chr. 11: 5, 6.) What two important building enterprises did he carry through? (5: 9-11.) In what other way did he try to extend his influence? (5: 13.) What treasured religious possession of the people did he bring to the new capital? (6: 1, 2.) How did the king show his reverence for it and his joy over its transfer? (6: 3-5.) What unfortunate accident occurred on the road? (6: 6-9.) What encouraged David to renew his task? (6: 10-12.) What new honor did the king pay to the symbol of Jehovah's presence? (6: 13-15.) How was it sheltered at Jerusalem? (6: 17.) How was its coming signalized? (6: 17-19.) How did David justify his laying aside of royal dignity? (6: 20-22.)

(192.) **The Decisive Conflict with the Philistines.** The Philistines rightly interpreted the acceptance by David of the crown of all Israel as a declaration of war, and lost no time in sending an army into the Hebrew hill country. The struggle was hotly contested and lasted for some time. At one time David was forced to take refuge in the cave or fortress of Adullam, twelve miles from Bethlehem by a very rough trail. He chanced to remember with longing the cool, delicious water of the well at Bethlehem, "which is by the gate." Three of his sturdy warriors instantly made their way through the Philistine army, got the water and fought their way through again successfully. Such devotedness hallowed the brave and loving deed. David could not drink the water, but offered it to Jehovah as a precious gift (23: 13-17).

In the wide ranging valley of Rephaim, southwest of Jerusalem, two fierce battles were fought, the last one being a crushing defeat for the Philistines, which cleared

them out of David's dominions, compelled a lasting peace, and left him free to strengthen and consolidate his kingdom.

(193.) **Jerusalem captured and made David's Capital.** From the time of the Conquest under Joshua down to David's day, Jerusalem had remained a Canaanitish stronghold. It was an ancient city in Joshua's day and was one of a chain of Canaanitish strongholds, extending westward as far as Gezer, which the men of Israel had been unable to capture (§ 145, 162). This line of fortresses had been an important factor in the separation of southern from central Canaan. David had already asserted his mastery over the rest of the debatable region (5: 25) and now set himself with new vigor to the capture of the fortress of Jebus, which, from the East Hill above the spring Gihon, dominated and controlled Jerusalem.

The passage which reports the capture (5: 6-8) is rather obscure. It seems to indicate that the Jebusites were over-confident and that David managed to surprise them. The parallel passage in I Chron. 11: 4-6, states that David offered the post of commander-in-chief to its captor. Joab, his own kinsman (I Chron. 2: 16) won the prize. David was large-minded enough to respect his foes. He deprived them of their power, but spared them otherwise (II Sam. 24: 18). They were made citizens of the new capital. More than four centuries later the prophet Ezekiel in explaining Jerusalem's wickedness attributed it to the fact that the city was heathen in origin. (Ezek. 16: 3.)

David showed excellent judgment in the choice of Jerusalem to be his capital. It belonged to no one tribe; it was identified with neither north nor south; it was conveniently situated, tolerably well-watered, readily defensible, hard to attack, and yet in quick communication with all parts of the country. It had the possibilities of a real capital. He could not have foreseen its real greatness, but he laid well the foundations. For twenty-nine centuries Jerusalem has remained a city of note. In David's time it was perhaps about the size of Gezer, a

royal Canaanite city, which measured 4500 feet around the walls. People lived compactly in those days.

(194.) **David's Nationalizing Policy.** David's genius as a ruler was quickly exhibited by the measures he took. He built a palace and other appropriate buildings, he maintained a bodyguard of "mighty men," he rapidly increased the population of the city, he organized his court, he encouraged trade and greatly enhanced the importance and strength of Jerusalem. The step of greatest importance was the bringing of the sacred Ark from Kirjath-jearim to the capital. It symbolized the presence of Jehovah to hallow and bless the new city.

As George Adam Smith has pointed out, the realization by Jerusalem of her greatest dignity and influence was a work of centuries. David's policy involved much forehandedness and far-sightedness. But such characteristics seem appropriate to the David of history. He had set his heart upon making a real nation. He shrewdly understood the weakness of Saul's policy and set himself to the task of building up a national center of political, social and religious influence which should soon quicken a sense of pride and loyalty in the hearts of every man of Israel, south or north. It was a little city, with a tiny palace and crude conditions, but it was big with promise.

(195.) **The Transfer of the Ark.** The circumstances of the transfer of the Ark throw much light upon the religious ideas of the day. It was so sacred that the death of Uzzah was attributed to his rash handling of it, even to save it from harm. It was borne on a cart never used before (6:3). The emotions of the worshippers had to find vent in the loud playing of musical instruments and in frenzied dancing. The Ark was brought into the fortress and placed near David's palace. Here it was sheltered in a tent, which David prepared. I Kings 8:4 calls this the "tent of meeting" (§ 129), the historic tent which Moses had frequented (rendered in the Authorized Version "tabernacle of the congregation"). The fortified hilltop known as "David's City" was unquestionably the best and safest place for the Ark at that time, but, as we

shall see, the close proximity of the palace and the shrine was not always to the advantage of the latter.

(2.) THE NEW KINGDOM MADE SUPREME IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE. (II Sam. 7:1 to 11:1; 12:26-31; 21:1-14; 23:8 to 24:25.)

(196.) These passages describe the wars by which David made himself the most important monarch of his region, various incidents of his early reign, and the organization of his kingdom.

What very distasteful duty did David impose upon Joab, his general? (24:1-4.) What was Joab's report? (24:9.) Later on, in what light did David regard this procedure? (24:10.) What was its punishment? (24:15.) How did he get the land on which to build an altar for the atoning sacrifice? (24:19-25.) In the course of the warfare of his early reign, how many nations did David defeat and where were they situated? (8; 10; 11:1; 12:26-31.) What did he do with the spoil he accumulated? (8:7, 8, 10-12; 12:30.) What high officials of court did he appoint? (8:15-18.) What sort of deeds brought distinction to his soldiers? (23:8-12.) How was the famine atoned for? (21:1-9.) How did David reward the faithfulness of Rizpah to her beloved dead? (21:10-14.)

(197.) **The Extent of David's Kingdom.** King David began his royal career (2:4) with a kingdom no larger than a fair-sized county. From Bethel to Beersheba was about fifty-five miles. The average breadth of Judah was between twenty-five and thirty miles. One half of this area was desert. He left a small empire ranging from the Lebanon Mountains to the border of Egypt on the south. Its area was, roughly speaking, two hundred miles in length and from seventy to a hundred miles in breadth, a little larger than the state of Vermont.* His dominance was acknowledged by the Aramean states, by Moab, Ammon and Edom, by the Philistines and by the desert tribes, while other countries held him in high respect. His aggressive policy was a factor of great

*See the map, " Palestine under David," fronting page 76.

importance in transforming his own people from discouraged, disunited peasants into men of racial pride, masterfulness and outlook. His new capital became an important and busy center with its throng of officials and their families, of princes and their retinues, of soldiers, merchants, temple people and visitors. Jerusalem must have grown rapidly during David's reign.

(198.) **Its Organization.** (II Sam. 8:16-18; 15:37; 16:16; 20:23-26; I Chron. 27:33.) These references indicate the great advance made by David in the organization of a well-ordered kingdom. His people in their own districts were ruled, according to traditional custom, by their elders and men of rank, through whom any local demand could readily be made known to the king. He often deputized (15:3) others to act for him, but remained the high court of justice to whom anybody could appeal (14:4).

At David's right hand were three men, the scribe or secretary of state; the recorder or keeper of the royal archives; and the "king's friend," a valued counselor. The two priests of highest rank, Zadok and Abiathar, were probably ranked as advisers of state also. To these David added during the latter part of his reign a master of the levies. (20:24.)

Two other officers were of great importance, the commander of the picked bodyguard of warriors who were in close attendance on the king, Benaiah, and the general of the "host" or army which was recruited whenever needed, Joab. Each was a trusted warrior. The miscellaneous notes of chapter twenty-three suggest that among the bodyguard of six hundred were not a few redoubtable warriors, who had proven their prowess on many battlefields. The absolute loyalty of Ittai of Gath to David in the days of his misfortune (15:19-22) was but one indication of their fidelity to their chosen liege.

(199.) **Its Inner Spirit.** David's reign was a time of transition and experiment and occasional crudity. The execution of seven of the descendants of Saul as a proper atonement for his violation of the covenant with the

Gibeonites and the general feeling that such an expiation was the only way to free the nation from guilt (21: 1-14) shows the bondage of David and his people to superstition. On the other hand the judgment of the prophet Gad that David's census-taking indicated a desire to set up an autocracy or an over-reliance upon material strength and his declaration that Jehovah would surely punish such an attitude indicates a healthy moral sense.

The new Israel of David's day is indicated in two important ways. When Nathan, the prophet, dissuaded David from attempting to build the temple he gave voice to the growing national sense of destiny (7). David's successes put a new aspiration into his people. They began to look far ahead, and to think in terms of a permanent kingdom.

Scholars think that the same prosperity stirred into action the creative power of the people. They gave expression to their ambitions in forms of literature. To this age are generally credited the Oracles of Balaam in their present form, the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49), the book of Jashar and the book of the Wars of Jehovah (Num. 21: 14; II Sam. 1: 18). Tradition has credited to King David the authorship of many of the psalms. He was certainly a musician and a poet, as well as a very zealous worshipper of Jehovah. His exact share in the Psalter it is useless to try to determine. The psalms, as we know them, represent the work of centuries, during which they underwent repeated revision. It would probably be correct to attribute to the prophets and priests of David's day much of the credit for the literary interest of the period.

(3.) DAVID'S GREAT SIN AND ITS LAMENTABLE TRAIN OF BITTER CONSEQUENCES. (II Sam. 11-20.)

(200.) This vivid narrative, unsurpassed in the Old Testament for vividness and ethical insight, relates the deliberate crime of David, its consequences, immediate and remote, of lust, murder, rebellion and disloyalty, and the loss of prestige to the throne.

Whose wife did David take to himself while her hus-

band was living? (11:3.) What second crime did he commit deliberately in order to hide the first? (11:14-17.) How was David's wickedness brought home to him? (12:1-15.) How did Absalom revenge the insult offered by his elder brother Amnon to his sister Tamar? (13:22-36.) How did Joab manage to get David's permission for Absalom to return to Jerusalem? (14:1-23.) What disloyalty did Absalom plan? (15:1-6.) What sudden disaster came to David at Jerusalem? (15:13-18.) What interesting examples of devotedness to him are recorded? (15:19-21, 27-29, 32-37.) How did Hushai succeed in persuading Absalom to delay the attack upon David? (17:1-14.) What was the outcome of the great battle near Mahanaim? (17:24 to 18:15.) How did David receive the news? (18:19 to 19:8.) Which part of the kingdom was foremost in restoring the king to his throne? (19:11-15, 40.) What quarrel did this raise? (19:41-43.) How was the rebellion of Sheba quelled? (20:1-22.)

(201.) **David's Great Sin.** David's chivalry could not stand against the enervating influences of a growing harem and constant palace life. (21:17.) He coveted and took the wife of one of his brave warriors. It is significant that the Israelites regarded this as a shameful act, not one conferring honor. Their ideals were sound. Nathan spoke for the heart of the people when he appealed to the justice and pity of the king, and declared that Jehovah would punish him for his mean and dastardly crimes.

(202.) **The Chain of Bitter Consequences.** David's gratification of his mad passion made it harder for him to discipline his oldest son, Amnon, for a similar outrage and, consequently, Absalom, regarding adequate vengeance as his duty, murdered Amnon. With Absalom's case the king failed to deal in his old, vigorous fashion, so that again that ambitious prince felt himself aggrieved and justified in conspiring to dethrone his father, whose withdrawal from public life gave him free opportunity to carry out his plans. The rebellion, although it was crushed,

left so much ill feeling behind it that Sheba was emboldened to revolt. By his lack of self control and respect for another's home, king David brought his promising kingdom almost to destruction.

(203.) **The Growing Influence of the Prophets.** There is no mention in the records of David's reign of the prophetic brotherhood at Ramah, to whose protection David fled when he was pursued by Saul. (I Sam. 19: 18-24.) That it was in existence is indicated by the fact that similar organizations were a feature of the life of Israel a little later on. Two prophetic leaders, Nathan and Gad, were close to David and highly respected by him. To the influence of these men of religious fervor, intellectual capacity, and keen spiritual insight, may be attributed Israel's rapid advance in public morality and national idealism.

(4.) DAVID'S LAST DAYS. (I Kings 1: 1 to 2: 11.)

(204.) This passage relates the attempt of Adonijah to seize the throne of all Israel and its result in the immediate enthronement of Solomon as king.

What ambition fired the heart of Adonijah? (1: 5.) What four reasons had he for believing that he could succeed? (1: 6-7.) How was David warned of the plot? (1: 11-27.) What measures were taken to defeat it? (1: 32-40.) What became of Adonijah? (1: 49-53.) What various commands did the dying David give to Solomon, the new king? (2: 1-9.)

(205.) **The Plot of Adonijah.** In his last years David was weak and inert. His court was the scene of much plotting concerning the succession. David, apparently, had made no public announcement of his purpose to select Solomon as his successor. (1: 20.) A strong party to which Joab and Abiathar belonged favored the claims of Adonijah, the eldest living son of David, and he even went so far as to call his supporters together to proclaim him king and seize the throne. By the shrewd promptness of Nathan, David was roused to decisive action. Solomon was placed on the royal mule, led at David's command

down to the spring of Gihon, anointed king, proclaimed to the people and seated on the throne. Adonijah's party dispersed in fear and the ringleader was only spared by reason of the clemency of his new sovereign.

(206.) **The Dying Injunctions of David.** The greatest blot on David's character is occasioned by his charge to Solomon on his deathbed. Such vindictiveness does not seem in keeping with the great and generous leader who was patient (II Sam. 16: 5-13) under the insults of Shimei and owed so much for faithful service to Joab. We can only explain it by supposing that David was no longer his manful self.

(207.) **The Character and Work of David.** David was the real creator of the Israelitish nation. He took a badly disorganized people and made it into a well organized nation with an ample country, a central capital, a national consciousness and an outlook. Israel began to feel itself a power in the world; the prophets, at least, were anxious that it should be a power for good.

He was a military genius, a resourceful ruler and one in sympathy with the best ideals of his age. He could sin deeply, but he also repented sincerely. His greatest weaknesses were displayed in the realm of the affections. He inspired the most touching and loyal devotion in his followers and seemed to gather about him those of the highest type. Intensely human in his faults and virtues alike, the weight of his life's influence was in favor of all that contributed to the growth of his people, politically and religiously.

4. Solomon's Splendid and Peaceful but Disintegrating Reign. (I Kings 2: 12 to 11: 43.)

(208.) The story of Solomon's reign differs in form from any of the narratives heretofore read in that it is a mass of details rather than an unbroken story. The central fact of interest is the description of Solomon's buildings, notably the Temple. The other facts related are of real importance, but they seem to be loosely arranged. 4: 20-26 is an evident interpolation, since verse 27 be-

longs with verse 19. Moreover, it seems to be an exilic interpolation, for verse 24, read accurately (see marginal notes) implies a Babylonian standpoint. Moreover, the order of the chapters is no key to the order of the occurrence of the events related in them. The text of the Greek Old Testament is in even worse condition. The reason for the anecdotal character of the chapters devoted to the reign of Solomon is not apparent, and the fact is not important. They are mainly quite eulogistic.

(1.) THE PROMISING BEGINNINGS OF SOLOMON'S REIGN. (I Kings 2: 12 to 5: 12; 9: 10 to 10: 29.)

(209.) These data describe the spirit in which Solomon undertook his great task, his plans for the splendor of his capital and the security and prosperity of his people.

What three men did Solomon put to death as dangerous foes? (2: 19-46.) What kind of ability did he ask from God? (3: 5-15.) How did he show that his petition had been granted? (3: 16-28.) How did he provide the cost of his court? (4: 7, 27, 28.) For what was he justly famed? (4: 29-34.) Who came from a distance to visit him? (10: 1-10, 13.) What building operations did he put through, besides the Temple? (3: 1; 9: 10, 15, 17-19, 24; 10: 17.)

(210.) **His Quick Exhibit of Capacity to Rule.** Solomon was given a kingdom but he showed at once that he was a born ruler. He took no action with reference to those who had conspired against him until he had reason to think that they were still contemplating treason. Then with three swift blows he removed the three men who questioned his legitimacy and the other man who disobeyed his express command. There was no hint thereafter of rebellion in his vicinity.

He took a lofty view of his responsibilities, choosing for himself neither wealth, honor nor the life of his foes, but the ability to govern his people wisely. He rose to the level of his splendid heritage and seemed to take the worthy resolve to give it permanence.

A strong factor in his influence may have been his versa-

tility. He was celebrated far and wide for his cleverness and his culture, and is credited with the originating impulse in the case of Hebrew proverbial literature. In these and many ways Solomon showed himself capable of taking the lead of his people.

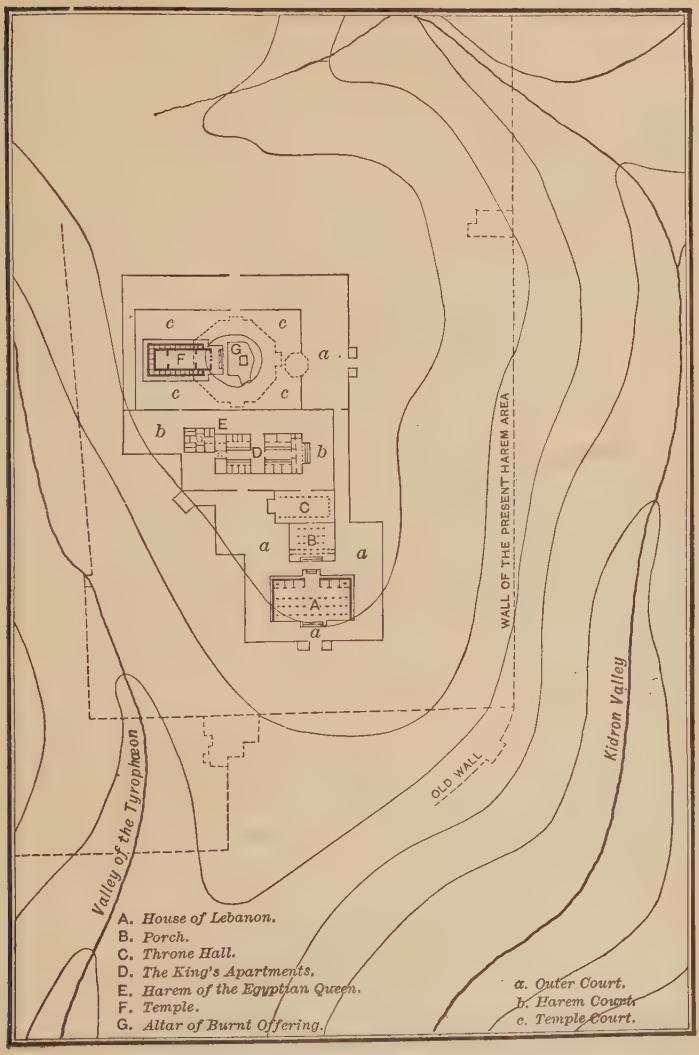
(211.) **The Organization of his Kingdom.** Solomon improved in various ways upon David's scheme of organization. His division of the kingdom into twelve provinces, each providing supplies for the court for one month each year may not have been made early in his reign, but it was in active operation long before its close. There is reason to think that it involved some favoritism. Judah, at least, is not included within the boundaries of the provinces.

Solomon added to David's court officials another scribe, a steward or officer of the household and a minister of finance. He also increased the dignity of the " King's Friend " and used hundreds of minor officials. (9: 23, compare 5: 16.)

(212.) **His Building Enterprises in Jerusalem.** What Solomon did for Jerusalem and his kingdom in the way of building was his most lasting service. He found a Jerusalem which was little better than a fortress, crowded and inconvenient, surrounded by growing suburbs. He left Jerusalem an imposing city, ranking well among the minor capitals of that era.

On the East Hill, above David's fortress, Solomon erected a complex of buildings and courts within one greater court which was surrounded by a strong wall. The Temple was on the highest point, surrounded with its forecourt by a low wall. (6: 36.) On a terrace below was a larger, middle or "other" court (7: 8) containing the royal palace and the House of the Daughter of Pharaoh. Just below these structures were the great Throne Hall (7: 7; 10: 18-20), the Hall of Pillars (7: 6), and the House of the Forest of Lebanon (7: 2-5; 10: 17, 21).

As materials for these costly structures and for the Temple the records enumerate cedar wood, gold, ivory,



PLAN OF SOLOMON'S PALACE

(ACCORDING TO STADE)

silver, iron, copper, sandal wood (10:11) fir, precious stones and huge hewn stones. (5:17; 6:7.)

The records mention somewhat obscurely a work of fortification at Jerusalem. The Millo (9:24, 15; 11:27) may have been an earthwork or bastion at the south end of Davidsburg, as Smith names the original fortification. The wall of Jerusalem was built (3:1; 9:15), but whether it was more than the wall surrounding the Temple and the palace buildings is uncertain. Solomon put Jerusalem into fine defensive condition.

(213.) **His Building Enterprises in Palestine.** Six fortresses were built by Solomon to protect his people from invasion, but also to enable him to police the main lines of international traffic (9:15, 17). Hazor commanded the main entrance from the north, Megiddo, the cross passage from Esdraelon to the plain of Sharon, Bethhoron the most open ascent to Judah from Sharon, Gezer the entrance to the valley of Ajalon, Baalath a yet more southerly approach from the seacoast and Tamar the road from the south to Hebron. The capital was thus adequately protected. Such fortresses were also an investment. In return for the protection of regular traffic, Solomon doubtless exacted a caravan toll.

Besides these are mentioned "store cities and cities for chariots and cities for horsemen" (9:19). Solomon had quite an army and introduced the use of chariots. This portion of his army, for topographical reasons, he could not keep at Jerusalem. Only individual chariots are mentioned as coming to the city. (II Kings 9:28; II Chron. 35:24).

(2.) THE BUILDING AND DEDICATION OF THE TEMPLE. (I Kings 5-8.)

(214.) These chapters give the details concerning the Temple and its dedication.

From what king did Solomon request assistance in the building of the Temple? (5:1-6.) What was their mutual contract? (5:7-11.) Whence came the needful labor? (5:13-18.) How long was the Temple in build-

ing? (6:38.) How were the needed resources obtained? (7:51; 9:11.) With what solemnity was the Temple dedicated? (8.)

(215.) **The Preparations Made for Building.** The record in Kings ignores any share of the people in the building of the Temple, except that which was forced upon them. I Chron. 29 mentions generous gifts of the wealthy among the people. Probably the spoils of David's wars furnished the greater part of the resources on which Solomon drew. He enlisted the aid of King Hiram and his Phoenician artisans for the actual work of erection.

(216.) **The Plan of the Temple.** The Temple was a rectangular, thick walled building of large square stones and cedar beams, 124 by 55 by 52 feet, with a porch at the east front, and side chambers on the three sides. Its interior was divided by a wall into two apartments. The outer apartment, called the Holy Place (8:10), was 70 by $34\frac{1}{2}$ feet in extent. The inner sanctuary or Most Holy Place (8:6) was a cube of $34\frac{1}{2}$ feet with a small chamber above (6:20). The whole building was panelled with carved cedar, floored with cypress, and, according to 6:21, overlaid with gold. The Temple was not imposing in size, but it did not need to be. It was not a home for worshippers; they used the court. It was simply a dwelling for Jehovah.

(217.) **Its Furniture.** At the very apex of the East Hill was the great Altar of Burnt Offering, now the rock es-Sakhra, under the dome of the mosque of Omar. Near the altar was the Bronze Sea (7:23-37), a huge tank, seventeen feet in diameter, supported by twelve bronze bulls. In the court with them were ten movable lavers for use in sacrifices. Where the Bronze Serpent stood (II Kings 18:4) we do not know. From the Great Altar steps led down to the Porch of the Temple, which was flanked on either side by beautiful bronze pillars, Jachin and Boaz (7:15-22). In the Holy Place stood the Table of Shewbread and the lampstands. The Most Holy Place was unlighted. It contained the Ark and the Cherubim. (8:6-9.) Thus, provision was made for the

simple but stately ceremonial worship believed to be acceptable to Jehovah. Solomon could do no more.

(218.) **Its Religious Significance.** The Greek Old Testament supplies the missing line of the two couplets in 8: 12, 13, making it read:

The sun hath Jehovah set in the heavens,
But He hath Himself decreed to dwell in thick darkness
I have built thee a House, an abode
A seat of thy habitation forever.

This is a significant and early declaration. The Greek version credits it to the book of Jashar. It recognizes the creative power of Jehovah, His invisibleness, and His presence with men. It gives us a far clearer assurance of the thoughts which the completed Temple inspired than the elaborated prayer of dedication, which betrays the mind of the age when the books of Kings were written.

The religious symbolism represented by the Cherubim, the Sea, the Serpent and the Pillars was an inheritance from the past. It is interesting to note that they gradually disappeared. They were really unnecessary, and incompatible with a true spirituality.

The Temple at the outset was more a royal than a national sanctuary. It had important rivals at Bethel, Dan and Beer-sheba. But being at the capital and containing the ark and in charge of the family of Zadok, it rapidly gained prestige.

(3.) THE DISASTROUS OUTCOME OF HIS POLICY. (1 Kings 4:22-26; 5:13-16; 9:1 to 11:43).

(219.) These passages testify to the splendor of Solomon's reign, the heavy burdens it laid upon his people and their growing discontent.

What was one good feature of Solomon's reign? (4: 24, 25.) How were the laborers secured for executing Solomon's ambitious plans? (4:6; 5:13-16; 7:45-47; 9:20-22.) Who had to pay for them? What did Solomon do to stimulate trade? (9:26 to 10:13, 22-29.) What caused his deterioration? (11:1-8.) What two important foes only watched for a chance to attack his

kingdom? (11:14-25.) What two very significant groups of opposition to Solomon are revealed by the story of Jeroboam? (11:26-40.)

(220.) **Solomon's Passion for Imperialism.** King Solomon was a monarch who was larger than his country. His ideas were far in advance of his real resources. His failure was in being unwilling to recognize his limitations and to adjust himself to them; and in assuming that his freedom-loving people would endure indefinitely whatever he chose to put into practise. He had an instinct for international dealings. Up and down through all of Palestine and Syria he made his country felt. He promoted ambitious voyages, which seem to have been successful. (10:22.) He made many alliances (11:1-8), with the daughters of surrounding monarchs, his motive in the main being the promotion of amity and free commerce.

(221.) **The Unsoundness of this Policy.** The bold act of Ahijah, the prophet of Shiloh, showed that he and other leaders came to disapprove of Solomon's policy, and to regard it as unfaithful to Jehovah. However excellent his motives may have been, the effect of Solomon's policy was to cause his own religious deterioration, to introduce into Israel elements which favored corruption and to overstrain the resources of his subjects. The splendor and influence of his reign were purchased at too heavy a cost. Instead of adding to the strength of his subjects he weakened them by galling taxation and enforced labor. If he consciously made slaves of those subjects who had been incorporated into his dominions by David, he was quite as unjust as if he had dealt with pure-blooded Hebrews. If he showed favoritism to Judah as over against the northern sections, they were justified in demanding redress from his son. (12:4.) Whatever the reasons were, the greater portion of his subjects waited with ill-concealed impatience for Solomon's death.

(222.) **The Symptoms of Revolt.** It is not very probable that Solomon's subjects objected strongly to his alliances with other kings or to his marriages with their

daughters or to his erection in Jerusalem of suitable places of worship for his foreign queens. To most of them, such arrangements would have seemed only courteous and inevitable. The prophets of that day, as well as of the days of the writer of Kings, seemed to take a different view. They saw the danger to the purity and strength of their own religion of such religious hospitality. They declared that Jehovah would divide the kingdom.

Solomon was indifferent alike to the mutterings of his subjects and to the threats of the prophets. But when a young leader developed in the person of Jeroboam, a man of Ephraim, one of his own overseers, he was aroused to action. Jeroboam escaped to the court of Pharaoh, where he waited for Solomon's death.

(223.) **The Work of Solomon.** King Solomon found Jerusalem a military stronghold and left it a beautiful city, imposing for that day. He developed the resources of his kingdom and gave his people a greater security than they had known before. He gave Israel's religion an adequate setting and opportunity by building the Temple. He wrought into enduring forms other ambitions of David. The peacefulness of his reign permitted him to be the patron of literature and art. His great defect would seem to be his overweening ambition, which fostered self-indulgence, lack of sympathy with his subjects and a polygamous habit of life. The promise of his early years was exchanged for a folly that greatly discredits his fame.

5. The Israel of 937 B.C.

(224.) **A Review of the Century of Establishment.** *Its Records.* In what books of the Bible do we find some data concerning this period?

Its Development. Into what four or five natural periods is the century divisible?

The Great Leaders. Out of the many who are mentioned by name in the records, and omitting Samuel, Saul, David and Solomon, what five men are entitled to rank highest in importance?

The Narratives as Literature. Mention three passages which seem to be distinctively fine as literature.

The Contribution of the Age. What definite additions to Israel's possessions in territory or belongings can be attributed to the age between Samuel's boyhood and Solomon's death?

The Political Situation. What new nationality came in touch with Israel during the century?

Religious Development. What advances were made in the expression of the religious life of the nation?

The Period as a Whole. Put into a concise statement a summary of the century.

VII

SOME QUESTIONS IN GENERAL REVIEW OF HEBREW HISTORY TO 1000 B.C.

(225.) 1. Why is the history of the Hebrew people a suitable starting-point in the study of universal history?

2. To what great family of nations did the Hebrews belong? Mention other nations who belonged to the same family. What were its marked characteristics?

3. From what two great centers did the civilization of the centuries preceding the Exodus spring?

4. What seven nations, not inferior in strength to the Hebrew people, do the centuries preceding 1000 B.C. bring into view?

5. How many smaller peoples have been mentioned in the records of these early centuries?

6. Which of the greater nations wielded an influence which could properly be termed imperial?

7. Make a sketch map of the western Asiatic world and locate thereon these nations of imperial influence in large letters and the petty peoples in smaller letters. Locate also the principal city of each. Locate the Euphrates, Tigris and Jordan Rivers, the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, the Zagros Mountains and the Armenian Mountains. Indicate by the western edge of the sketch-map your idea of the westward range of Israel's knowledge in the days of Solomon.

8. Counting the days of Abraham as approximating 2000 B.C., how long previous to that time had Babylonia had a distinctive civilization? Was this civilization in its beginnings in his time or was it well-developed? Sketch the history of Babylonia down to the days of Hammurabi. What did this great sovereign do for his country?

9. How can we account for the gradual decline in Babylonian supremacy during the millenium following the days of Hammurabi?

10. In what ways did Babylonia affect the Israelitish people?

11. What do we know about the history of Egypt prior to the eighteenth dynasty? What great change in the national life did its kings bring about?

12. What light do the Tel-el-Amarna letters throw upon the Palestine and Syria of their day?

13. Why is the Hebrew historian particularly interested in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth dynasties in Egypt?

14. Sketch the political adjustments of the Western Asiatic world about 2000 B.C.

15. Show that the twelfth century B.C. was a great turning point in Asiatic conditions.

16. When and how did Assyria originate? Sketch her early history until about 1000 B.C.

17. When and how were the Philistines made a part of the permanent population of Palestine. Describe them as portrayed in the Bible.

18. When did the Arameans begin to figure in the life of Syria and Palestine? What character mentioned in Genesis was most representative of them?

19. When did the Phoenicians get a foothold in Canaan? Why were their relations with Israel so uniformly friendly?

20. About when did the Hittites as a nation begin to influence the history of Palestine? Where was their seat of power? With what nation did they struggle for the control of Palestine? What was the cause of their loss of power and withdrawal to upper Syria before Joshua's day?

21. Who were the earliest settlers of Canaan of whom there is any trace? When did the Amorites enter the country? If the Canaanites are to be counted as a second group of Semitic immigrants, when did they enter?

22. How early in history was Palestine an object of desire on the part of Babylonian sovereigns? Why did they wish to control or influence so distant a country?

23. What three little peoples on the outskirts of Palestine were regarded as having kinship with the Hebrews, but were rarely in relations of amity with them?

24. What little peoples can be mentioned which were incorporated into Israel.

25. With great and powerful empires within striking distance of Palestine, how did the kingdom of united Israel come to have several undisturbed centuries in which to grow?

26. What two great periods of the development of the Hebrew race have been covered in this study?

27. Assuming 2000 B.C. as the approximate date of Abraham's departure, how many centuries have been spanned?

28. Into what six significant stages may this history be divided?

29. Inasmuch as the Hebrews were in intimate contact from the beginning with kindred Semitic peoples and surrounded by them, how may one account for the uniqueness of their development?

30. What are the outstanding differences between the Semitic traditions of the beginnings of the world as other Semites told them and as the Hebrews told them?

31. What distinctive use did the Biblical writers make of these traditions?

32. What is the element of greatest value to you in Genesis 1-11?

33. What are the strictly historical data given us by the patriarchal narratives of Genesis 12-50?

34. Characterize the portraiture of each great leader.

35. What social type of life was exhibited by these ancestors of the Hebrews?

36. What probable advantages came to the Israelites by reason of the sojourn in Egypt?

37. What did Moses do for his people?

38. Why were the Hebrews so slow in electing a king and developing a kingdom?

39. What influences caused them to initiate the monarchy?

40. Why was David better adapted to the real work of organization than Saul?

41. Compare the four stages of monarchical growth: under Gideon and Abimelech, under Saul, under David and under Solomon.

42. Of the many personalities described in these ten books of the Old Testament, indicate five to whom you would assign the first rank as worthy of recognition as one of the world's great minds, five who rank as men of exceptional but not supreme ability and five who were leaders of merely local importance.

43. Think back through these ten books of the Bible and mention the two books to which you would assign the highest rank as literature. Select also the ten passages of greatest literary merit.

44. Select ten passages which throw a vivid light upon the social usages of these centuries.

45. Formulate in mind the social difference between the Hebrews of the desert and the Hebrews of Canaan.

46. Trace the religious growth of the people from the days of Abraham in respect to their ideas of God and of His worship.

47. When do you understand that the Hebrews began to feel that they were a people with a destiny?

48. Who was, humanly speaking, most helpful in giving them this impression?

49. Prior to 1000 B.C., what influences helped the Hebrew people to make religion a great reality in life and to develop increasingly higher religious ideals?

50. What great impressions does the study of this history leave upon the mind?

THE AGE OF RIPENING MATURITY: ISRAEL'S POLITICAL, SOCIAL, ETHICAL AND SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT.

THE AGE OF RIPENING MATURITY: ISRAEL'S POLITICAL, SOCIAL, ETHICAL AND SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT.

From the Disruption to the Babylonian Exile. 937-586 B.C. (First and Second Kings and Nine Prophetical Books.)

(226.) The three centuries and a half between the end of Solomon's reign and the Exile of Judah were, on the whole, the most important, as also the most brilliant period in the history of the Israelitish people. It was a time of rapid transformation. The people of the days of Jeremiah were direct descendants of the subjects of Rehoboam and Asa, but they lived in a world which was practically new. From being a people of limited experience and a provincial habit of mind, they grew into a cultured, wide-visioned nation, originating sound and progressive religious ideas and planning for them world-wide acceptance. The experiences through which they went, bitter and splendid alike, served to quicken the power of Israel's representative men to appreciate and interpret the plans of God. Those tendencies to strict monotheism, which were innate in the worship of Jehovah, had an opportunity to develop. The primitive animism of which Israel's reverence for holy objects left an occasional trace and the aggressive heathenism of Canaan, which the nation drew into itself by the incorporation of its earlier inhabitants, each came to be estimated in its true light as an obstacle to pure worship and to be attacked by Jehovah's representatives and put under the ban. The higher and finer side of the religion of Jehovah received increasingly adequate expression. Men of great religious genius led the people in the formation of right ideals, not without opposition and reverses, but with much success. Kings, nobles, priests, prophets, men of wisdom, poets, gradually discovered their relative responsibilities and built up a balanced social and religious

life of a high order. The representative thinkers of the last century and a half of this period were men whose judgment commands respect today on questions of life.

(227.) **The Chronology of the Age.** With this age we reach a reasonable certainty on details of chronology due in part to the existence of court officials whose records were available to those who produced the writings on which the student of today relies, and in part to Assyrian practice. The Hebrews were not much concerned, as a people, with such details. They had no national scheme of chronology until after the Exile. Such an estimate as that in I Kings 6:1 was probably reached by editorial computation. They were satisfied to estimate the date of events in the proper year of the reigning king (II Ki. 18:10, 13). From such data, which must have been reasonably abundant, the writers of Kings were able to work out the synchronistic estimates, which date the accession of each king by the regnal year of his contemporary in the other kingdom. In reducing the resulting estimates to exact dates, one must reckon with the Hebrew habit of treating a fraction of a year as a whole year, or of ignoring it altogether, and with the possibility of errors of transmission.

The exact dates given in this volume are reasonably reliable. They represent, however, no more than the best judgment of a group of students who have compared the Biblical estimates with those available in the Assyrian records of this same period. The Assyrians developed a chronological system which their scribes kept with painstaking regularity. Their chronological records are thus of great value as a check on the Hebrew records.

(228.) **The Books of Kings.** The source of greatest value for the history of these three and a half centuries is the two books of Kings. As in the case of the books of Samuel they were originally one book. In structure and method they recall the book of Judges. The author adopted a fixed method of beginning and ending the story of each reign (I Ki. 15:25, 26, 31), which makes his

work seem more orderly and precise than that of the author of Samuel. Within this framework, which indicated the date of accession, the length of the reign, an estimate of royal character and policy and, usually, the source of information regarding the king, the author or editor, who was probably a contemporary of Jeremiah or of Ezekiel, placed his actual statements concerning the reign. These were brief or extended according to the data available or, better, according to his judgment of their relative value. The story of Solomon's reign covers eleven chapters; the equally long reign of Jeroboam II is described in seven verses (II Ki. 14: 23-29), and the longer reign of Manasseh in eighteen (21: 1-18). In historical interest the three were not so unequal.

The author of Kings had at least five earlier works which he used as sources of information. Three he mentions by name, the Annals of the Kings of Israel (I Ki. 15: 31), the Annals of the Kings of Judah (I Ki. 15: 23), and the Book of the Acts of Solomon (I Ki. 11: 41). Besides these there must have been a prophetical history and a Temple chronicle. From these sources the author drew with freedom, using what suited his purpose. We may assume that he was a prophet, because the marked purpose of his work was to rouse his countrymen to a sense of the moral interpretation of their past history and of their consequent duty.

(229.) **The Books of Chronicles.** A parallel account of these reigns from the standpoint of those who were chiefly interested in the history of the Temple and in matters of ecclesiastical importance is given in the books of Chronicles, which with Ezra and Nehemiah formed, originally, one continuous work. Its date is generally placed about 300 B.C. It supplements the narrative of Kings, but has to be used with caution, since it idealizes those who had to do with the Temple or with Judah, and their achievements.

(230.) **The Prophetical Books and Other Sources.** The historical narratives are wonderfully supplemented by the prophetical utterances of these centuries. Nine

prophets, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Habakkuk, and Ezekiel, shared in the life of the people, and contributed to their development. The records of their activity throw much light upon the conditions of the time.

The important inscriptions and records of Assyria and Babylonia, Egypt, Syria and Palestine are invaluable sources of knowledge. They help in many ways to interpret and supplement the Hebrew records. Of these the most abundant and convincing are those of the Assyrian kings. There are in existence a few Palestinian records, such as the Moabite Stone, and a profusion of Hittite records. The latter are, as yet, unavailable, because no one has discovered how to read them.

(231.) **The Causes of the Disruption.** The two outstanding causes of the revolt of the northern tribesmen against Rehoboam were their growing discontent over the drain of men and money needed to execute Solomon's ambitious projects and the amazing short-sightedness of the young king. But back of these immediate incitements were several important contributing causes. Both David and Solomon were suspected of favoritism toward the south. The leading northern tribe, Ephraim, had lost its pre-eminence to Judah. There were real geographical and racial differences between the north and south, which had never been obliterated. The northern tribesmen were very independent and ready to experiment. The prophets seemed to favor their hopes.

The Septuagint or Greek Old Testament intimates that Rehoboam succeeded without opposition to the throne, but went to Shechem, after a while, to receive the homage of his northern subjects. Under the leadership of Jeroboam, who had returned from Egypt, the northern tribes requested a lightening of their burdens. The foolish royal youth not only insulted his free people, but chose as his messenger in dealing with his disloyal subjects the most hated man in his dominions. The result was inevitable.

(232.) **The Results of the Disruption.** The outcome of the successful revolt was a division of the strong, self-protecting kingdom of Solomon into two little monarchies,† but slightly superior in power to those round about. Judah was very small in size, but was well protected by nature from attack. She retained Jerusalem and the Temple, the dynasty of David and a conservative habit of mind. Israel, as the northern kingdom rather boldly called itself, had five times the territory, a far more fertile and wealthy country, double the population, three popular sanctuaries (I Ki. 12:29; Amos 4:4) and great self-reliance.* Of the two, as they developed, Israel was the pioneering, progressive, experimenting nation; Judah could be relied upon to be conservative and watchful. Israel's situation made her more sensitive to outside influences than Judah, and likewise made her political life less stable. The splendid Temple and the unbroken dynasty were powerful factors for Judah's good.

VIII.

THE CENTURY OF CONFLICT AND ALLIANCE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND JUDAH. 937-842 B.C. (FIRST KINGS 12 TO SECOND KINGS 10)

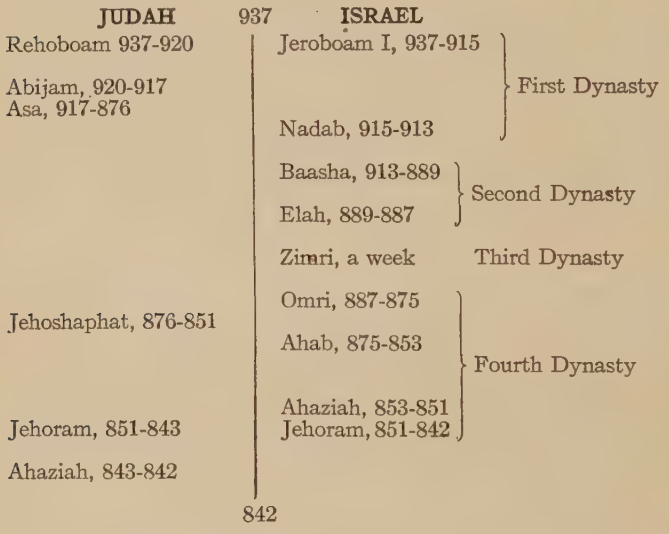
(233.) The first century of the existence of the separated Israelitish kingdoms was tragically concluded by the execution of a king of each line on the same day (II Ki. 9:24, 27). During this century the interests of the kingdoms were mainly local. Their inveterate hostility, maintained for sixty years, altered at last to a friendly alliance, strengthened by the intermarriage of the reigning houses. The century witnessed two religious movements. On the one hand Canaanitish heathenism gained much headway in Judah only to be suppressed by Asa; on the other Phoenician Baalism, a far more dangerous form of anti-Jehovistic religion, was introduced by Jezebel, requiring a prophetic agitation and a dynastic revolution to drive it out again. In spite of these movements and, perhaps, because of them, the prevailing religious tendency of

*See the map, "The Divided Kingdom," facing page 76.

†Compare the two lower maps facing page 76 and the upper, left-hand map facing page 139.

the century was upward. At its close the Israelitish people had practically settled the question of their allegiance to Jehovah.

The sovereigns of each kingdom with their approximate dates are given below. Added together the Biblical estimates for the two lines of kings vary by three years, one totalling ninety-five years, the other ninety-eight. To make them balance, three years are arbitrarily deducted from the twelve years assigned to Jehoram of Israel (II Ki. 3: 1).



1. The Half Century of Petty Warfare between the Two Kingdoms. (I Kings 12: 1 to 16: 34.)

(234.) These chapters recount the measures taken by Jeroboam I to complete the separation between the kingdoms, the misfortunes of Judah and the steady warfare of the rival kings.

Who was chosen by the revolting tribes to be their king? (12: 20.) Where was his capital? (12: 25.) How did he seek to forestall any renewal of allegiance to

Rehoboam? (12:28-32.) What was the attitude of the prophets? (13.) What calamity did Rehoboam meet? (14:25-28.) What was his religious attitude? (14:22-24.) What reforms did Asa institute? (15:12-15.) How did he circumvent Baasha's ambition and strengthen his own frontier? (15:17-22.) Whose dynasty lasted but a week? (16:10-20.) What city did Omri found as his capital? (16:24.) Who put an end to the half-century's warfare? (14:30; 15:6, 16; 22:44.)

(235.) **Jeroboam's Separative Policy.** In setting up the golden bulls at Bethel and Dan it is improbable that Jeroboam was consciously disloyal to Jehovah. He was certainly unspiritual in temperament. Such a move seemed to him very shrewd. His desire was to popularize the two sanctuaries of Bethel and Dan, so that his people would never care to go to Jerusalem to worship. His shifting of the date of the great harvest festival and his appointment of priests on a basis of fitness or merit, rather than of birth or tribal relationship, may have emphasized this independence of Jerusalem. At any rate, these measures were very effective in isolating Judah (compare II Chron. 11:13-17). For the next half century or more, there is no evidence that the northern tribesmen took the slightest interest in Jerusalem or the Temple.

(236.) **The Moral and Political Weakness of Rehoboam.** The disruption left Rehoboam and his people almost at the mercy of any invader. The northern boundary of the kingdom was just a little north of Jerusalem. Had Jeroboam not been so busied with the organization of his new realm, he might have invaded Judah with fair assurance of success. To crown the misfortunes of Rehoboam, the reigning Pharaoh of the twenty-first Egyptian dynasty invaded Judah and despoiled the Temple and palace of their treasures. (14:25-28.) Rehoboam substituted shields of bronze for the captured golden shields and kept up the wonted ceremonial. The records give the impression that Rehoboam was a weak character, liking the palace and the harem (II Chron.

11:21) better than the battlefield, and paying little heed to the revival of Canaanitish heathenism, patronized by members of the royal family (15:2, 3, 10, 13). His long reign marked nothing but decadence.

(237.) **The Strong Reign of Asa.** Asa's long reign over Judah restored the balance of affairs. He had a vigorous personality. He dared to clear away from Judah the heathenish practises so persistent among the peasantry and to discipline the queen mother for her participation and leadership. He took steps, which we cannot fully explain, to honor the Temple (15:15), and was apparently successful in attracting to its worship some of the purer souls in Israel (II Chron. 15:9-13). According to Chronicles, he administered a crushing defeat to Zerah, the Cushite (II Chron. 14:9-15), who was probably an Arab chieftain rather than an Ethiopian of Africa (II Chron. 14:15). Asa was constantly at war (15:16) with Baasha, his northern contemporary. Baasha gained a great advantage by fortifying Ramah, a city which stood at the intersection of the great highways of travel, north and south, east and west. Thus Asa was effectually cut off from trade. He retaliated, with more cleverness than statesmanship, by hiring Benhadad, the Aramean king at Damascus, to attack Baasha's dominions and compel him to withdraw his forces from Ramah. No sooner had the withdrawal taken place than Asa destroyed the fortress and built two strongholds of his own, one at Geba, which controlled the main road from the Jordan to the Maritime Plain, the other at Mizpah on the frontier. Asa's kingdom was not yet able to stand against its sister kingdom, but he gave it a strong impulse, which his son sustained.

(238.) **The Third Dynasty of Israel.** It seems almost ridiculous to call the seven days' reign of Zimri a dynasty, but so it is counted by the Hebrew historian. Zimri is accorded as careful a statement as any other king (16:15-20). He lived but a week after he murdered his master (II Ki. 9:31), did not leave the city of Tirzah, and in no true sense could have been a responsible sovereign.

(239.) **The Founding of Samaria.** With the seizure of the throne of Israel by Omri, another ruler, who was also a statesman, dealt with Palestinian affairs in shrewd, wise fashion. He abandoned Tirzah, which had been the capital of Israel since Jeroboam's day, and founded a new capital, Samaria, which quickly became a city of leading importance. It was built on an isolated hill, three-quarters of a mile in length, descending precipitously for several hundred feet on three sides into a broad valley. When surrounded by a strong wall, the city was practically impregnable. The view from its battlements was far-ranging and beautiful. Samaria was reasonably central in location, and well adapted in every way for its purposes. It disputed Jerusalem's fame during the next century and a half, and greatly exceeded her in resources and leadership. Ezekiel (23:4) calls Samaria the elder of two sisters, by which he must have meant the more influential.

2. The Alliance of Omri's Dynasty with Phoenicia and Judah and the Religious Consequences. (I Ki. 16:21-34; 18:17-19; 19:1, 2; 22; Micah 6:16.)

(240.) These passages describe Omri's policy and its religious results.

What was the prophetic estimate of Omri? (I Ki. 16:25; Micah 6:16.) With what adjoining nation did he cement an alliance by the marriage of his son, Ahab? (16:31.) Who became Ahab's wife? (16:31.) How was the peace between Jehoshaphat and Ahab confirmed? (II Ki. 8:18, 26.) What religious results followed? (II Ki. 8:18.) What did Jezebel succeed in doing? (II Ki. 3:13; I Ki. 16:32, 33; 18:4; 21, 25, 26.)

(241.) **Omri's Policy of Alliance.** Omri was a soldier and gave much of his energy to warfare. After uniting all factions in his own dominions (16:21, 22), and, probably, dealing with the Philistines (16:17), he reasserted Israel's dominance over Moab, according to the unimpeachable testimony of the Moabite Stone,

discovered in 1868 at Dibon. Mesha, the contemporary of Ahab (II Ki. 3:4, 5), set it up to commemorate the deliverance of his people from this yoke. In relations with his northern foes, Omri was less fortunate. The king of Aram forced him to conclude a humiliating peace. (20:34.) Just at the close of Omri's reign, the savage, relentless Assyrian sovereign, Ashurnazirpal, made his unchallenged way to the slopes of the Lebanon and there received gifts from several Palestinian peoples. From that day forth, the Assyrian policy was clear. The aggressive successors of Ashurnazirpal believed that the western people cared more for their commerce than for their liberty and determined to master them.* Omri revealed his capacity as a ruler by making wise alliances with the kingdoms most closely related to his own. Following time-honored policy, these alliances were cemented by intermarriages. Probably Omri had chiefly in mind the commercial and defensive advantages which would result from such arrangements. Other results there were which were very detrimental.

(242.) **The Religious Results.** The son of Omri, Ahab, was married to Jezebel, the Sidonian princess. Jezebel was a remarkable woman, masterful, loyal to her inherited convictions and ambitious to advance the interests of her people. The Baalism she introduced was far more dangerous than the inherited Baalism of Canaan. The Phoenician Baal was a rival of Jehovah. The development of his worship involved the relaxation of national loyalty to Jehovah. Had Jezebel been contented with a sanctuary, however splendid, for her own use, and for her household, the prophets might not have interfered, since such an arrangement was often allowed as an act of international courtesy. When she began an aggressive campaign against Jehovah worship, they too declared war. Through the marriage of her daughter, Athaliah, to the son of Jehoshaphat, the campaign extended into Judah also.

(243.) **The Splendid Reign of Jehoshaphat over Judah.** Under Jehoshaphat the good start given by Asa to Judah's

*For the situation as he left it see the first map facing page 138.

prosperity was continued. Jehoshaphat kept strict faith with Ahab, the son of Omri (I Ki. 22:4), and with his son (II Ki. 3:7), but in many ways he showed himself a ruler of independence (I Ki. 22:48, 49) and of insight (I Ki. 22:7; II Ki. 3:12). The prophets respected him (II Ki. 3:14). The Chronicler gives a glowing account (II Chron. 17) of his regulation and stimulation of the religious life of his people. He seems to have taken his responsibilities seriously and to have given his kingdom a great uplift.

(244.) **The Literary Activity of this Age.** Three important literary achievements are generally credited to the orderliness and zeal of these days of Judean development. The Book of the Covenant (Exod. 20:22 to 23:19) may well have been that "book of the law of Jehovah" (II Chron. 17:9), which the priests taught to Jehoshaphat's people. There are indications that it closely represents the standards of the age. Of course, it was, in any case, the mere formulation of acknowledged laws. The fine, ethical narratives of the days of Samuel, Saul, David and Solomon, which were, later on, incorporated in the books of Samuel and Kings, were surely written at no later date than this. The greatest work of the period was that of the unknown prophet of Judah who prepared for his people that wonderful history of his race from the time of creation to which the second chapter of Genesis introduced us. This was the first "Bible before the Bible" (§ 32), the oldest history of the Hebrews, a clear, consistent record of the national development down to the accession of Solomon. Its vividness and concreteness, its patriotism and fervor, its fine historic sense and noble interpretation of Israel's history gave it an immediate importance. Whether it was written by one prophet or by a group, whether in Jehoshaphat's day or fifty years later,—these are purely matters of conjecture. It almost certainly should be credited to the ninth century, B.C. It is universally referred to as the Judean history, "J." If Deut. 33 is

a poem of this age, as some think, it was written by a northerner.

3. The Prophetic Reform led by Elijah and Completed by Elisha and Jehu. (I Ki. 17 to II Ki. 10.)

(245.) These chapters describe the reigns of Ahab and his two successors, the great popular struggle over Baalism and the great leaders of that contest.

With what stern announcement of calamity did Elijah appear in Israel? (17: 1.) How were his needs provided for in the months that followed? (17: 2-16.) In what manner did he challenge and defeat the prophets of Baal? (18.) How do you explain his subsequent despondency? (19: 1-7.) What encouraging revelation did Jehovah give him at Horeb? (19: 8-18.) Whom did he select as his successor? (19: 19-21.) In the story of Naboth, who most deserved Elijah's condemnation, Ahab, Jezebel, or the elders of Jezreel? (21.) What was the secret of Ahab's two victories over the Arameans? (20: 1-34.) What did the prophets think of his leniency to Benhadad? (20: 35-43.) How did the prophet, Micaiah, account for the difference between his message to Ahab and that of the four hundred court prophets? (22: 1-28.) What was the manner of Ahab's death? (22: 29-40.) For what two purposes did Elijah again appear? (II Ki. 1: 2-8; 2: 1-12.) What was the secret of Elisha's greatness? (2: 1-14.) Which of the stories concerning Elisha, in chapters 2; 4 to 8: 15; 13: 14-21, exhibit him as a helpful friend of the people? Which illustrate the encomium of Joash? (13: 14.) Which two are the finest as stories? What information do they give concerning the prophetic guilds? By what dramatic act did Elisha insure the completion of Elijah's work of reformation? (9: 1-13.) By what series of bloody acts did Jehu accomplish the task? (9: 14 to 10: 28.)

(246.) **The Elijah and Elisha Stories.** One of the finest sections of the Old Testament is these chapters which recount the stories that the people loved to repeat concerning their great prophetic leaders. They

are of very great value as illustrations of the social, religious, moral and political ideas of the time. Some of the narratives are remarkable as literature, both of a dramatic type (I Ki. 18, 20; II Ki. 5, 7, 9), and of a spiritual type (I Ki. 19; II Ki. 4; 6: 8-23.) The portraits of the masterful queen, of the great lady of Shunem, of Naaman, and of the honest and fearless prophet, Micaiah, are inimitable.

(247.) **The Prophetic Order.** These narratives bring into prominence the members of the prophetic guilds, who seem to be numerous enough to be counted by scores or hundreds (I Ki. 18: 13; 22: 6; II Ki. 2: 7.) They were organized into guilds and lived together near the sanctuaries of Bethel, Gilgal and Samaria. They served an important purpose by stirring the patriotism and the religious loyalty of the people. For some reason, probably because of the esteem in which they were held, there were among them many prophets who were unworthy, who looked upon their activity as an easy and profitable way of getting a living (Micah 3: 5). For such men, the real prophetic leaders like Elijah, Elisha or Micaiah had only contempt. That they did not represent fairly the vast body of ordinary prophets is evidenced by the great influence which the prophetic order exerted. While maintaining some of the old customs (II Ki. 3: 15) of Samuel's day, the prophets as a class seem to have steadily grown into large usefulness as popular advisers, as makers of public sentiment and as interpreters of the past. They, as well as the priesthood, furnished the educated men of the nation, who studied its problems and made them plain.

(248.) **The Great Contest at Mount Carmel.** (I Ki. 18.) Even such men required leadership. They found two commanding personalities in Elijah and his great disciple. Elijah's sudden appearance was due to his conviction that a crisis had been reached in Israel's life. The ambitious policy of Ahab had committed him to an increasing compromise with influences from the outside. Queen Jezebel, a woman of extraordinary genius and force, was rapidly, and with much success, giving the

worship of Baal an equal standing with that of Jehovah (I Ki. 18: 4, 13; 19: 14). An ascetic of the desert, Elijah was unalterably hostile to any policy which did not maintain for Israel her absolute loyalty to Jehovah. Following the prolonged drought, which he had predicted as a judgment and warning for the people, Elijah summoned a great assembly of the people at Mount Carmel, an easily accessible gathering place with a sublime prospect on every side. Here he placed plainly before the people the choice which they must make. Impressed by the demonstration of Jehovah's power, the people declared anew their loyalty and put to death the representatives of Baalism. It was an impulsive, but a loyal act.

(249.) **Elijah, the Reformer and Champion.** The desert-bred prophet was no match for the unscrupulous and fearless queen. He fled before her in fear and discouragement; yet he had achieved more than he realized, as God made him to know at the holy mountain. The work of conviction in the hearts of the people was sure to be slow, but it would be resistless. There were men like Elisha who could give it increasing definiteness and force.

Elijah's strength lay in his moral convictions and absolute fearlessness. He dared to champion the civil as well as the religious rights of his people, and to denounce the guilty king to his face. He thus taught the people of Israel that Jehovah was an upholder of righteousness. Religion might be a sort of political game to Jezebel; to him it was Israel's life. He compelled his people to realize that they could not tolerate a divided religious allegiance and remain worthy Israelites.

(250.) **Ahab and Jezebel.** Jezebel was Ahab's evil spirit. Her ideas of royal prerogative and of religion, and her unbending, remorseless pursuit of her ambitions, had much to do with his failure to carry out the early promise of his career. He was brave and far-sighted. The brilliancy of his reign must be credited in part to his great father, Omri; but Ahab was a strong ruler.

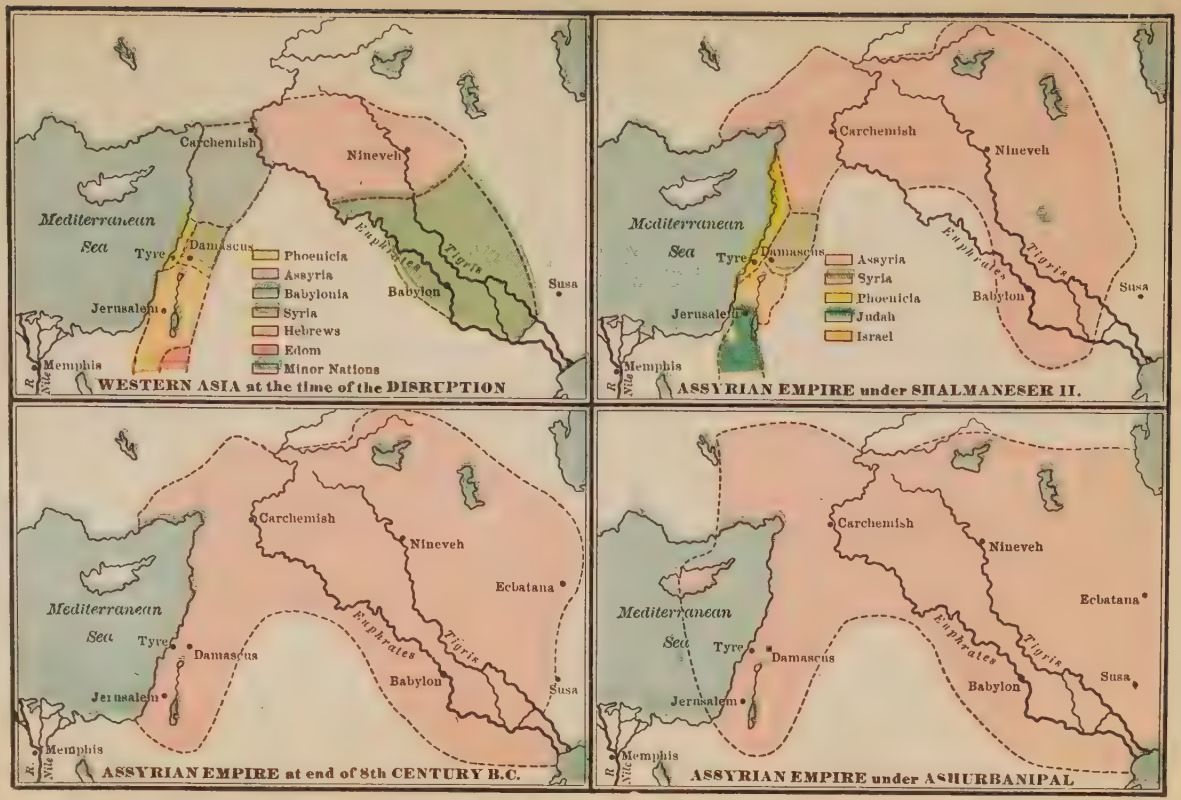

Carchemish
Nineveh
Mediterranean Sea
Tyre
Damascus
Euphrates
Tigris
Phoenicia
Assyria
Babylonia
Syria
Hebrews
Edom
Minor Nations
Babylon
Susa
Jerusalem
Memphis
R. Nile
WESTERN ASIA at the time of the DISRUPTION
Carchemish
Nineveh
Mediterranean Sea
Tyre
Damascus
Euphrates
Tigris
Assyria
Syria
Phoenicia
Judah
Israel
Babylon
Susa
Jerusalem
Memphis
R. Nile
ASSYRIAN EMPIRE under SHALMANESER II.
Carchemish
Nineveh
Ecbatana
Mediterranean Sea
Tyre
Damascus
Euphrates
Tigris
Babylon
Susa
Jerusalem
Memphis
R. Nile
ASSYRIAN EMPIRE at end of 8th CENTURY B.C.
Carchemish
Nineveh
Ecbatana
Mediterranean Sea
Tyre
Damascus
Euphrates
Tigris
Babylon
Susa
Jerusalem
Memphis
R. Nile
ASSYRIAN EMPIRE under ASHURBANIPAL

PLATE III

The very conciliatoriness toward Damascus, for which the unknown prophet denounced him (I Ki. 20:32-34, 42) appears to a historian of today an act of statesmanship. He needed Damascus, with its full strength, as a buffer state, to remain between him and Assyrian aggression. It is true, however, that he was a maker of alliances and promoter of compromises, rather than a man of principle. He thought of Elijah as an irresponsible fanatic, with one idea. Ahab's greatest weakness lay in preferring his own advantage to that of his people. Yet Biblical and Assyrian records unite to show that in the closing years of his life he played manfully a sovereign's part, not only seeking to win back the control of the frontier fortress of Ramoth-Gilead (I Ki. 22), but sending in 854 B.C. a large force to assist in opposing Shalmaneser, who threatened to invade southern Syria.

(251.) **The Growing Menace of Assyria.** The reigning Assyrian monarch in the latter days of Ahab was Shalmaneser II (860-825 B.C.), the son of Ashurnazirpal. He was an inveterate campaigner. His predecessor had made Assyria dreaded from the Tigris to the Mediterranean. He determined to conquer southward through Syria from the Amanus Mountains to the Lebanons. The present city of Aleppo was on his southern boundary in Syria. The region below was controlled, directly, or through alliances, by three principal states, Hamath, Damascus and Israel. These were more or less continually at warfare with one another, but could combine for the common defense. In 854 B.C., Shalmaneser invaded Hamath and was met at Qarqar on the river Orontes by an army to which Ahab contributed 2000 chariots and 10,000 soldiers. The result was indecisive, but Hamath retained her identity. Twice more during Jehoram's reign Shalmaneser attacked Hamath, and was met in similar fashion. Each time Shalmaneser claimed a victory which must have been more or less hollow. In 842, after Benhadad had been replaced as king of Syria by the crafty Hazael, and Jehu was seated on Israel's throne, the persistent Assyrian tried again.

Hamath appears to have submitted, and Jehu hastened to send a costly tribute, but Hazael met the Assyrian attack gallantly and succeeded in maintaining his independence. Shalmaneser II had gained little glory in these Syrian campaigns, but had inspired much fear of his cruel prowess and had established a flexible policy of conquest, extending the rule of Assyria even to the western bounds of Egypt.* For the next two centuries this policy overshadowed Palestinian politics.

(252.) **The Prophet Elisha.** It does not seem possible to place the events of Elisha's life in chronological sequence. The stories about him may have come from various sources, and seem to be arranged topically. They make clear his unusual personality. He was more gentle and gracious than Elijah, as a rule, although he, too, could be uncompromising. (II Ki. 5: 27; 3: 13.) A man of the border, and interested in the warfare with Damascus, Elisha rendered much service to his king, who, on one occasion, at least, paid a real tribute to his public influence (6: 31). He was a moral bulwark of Israel, too (6: 15-17) as well as the one in whom Israel trusted (13: 14). He was welcomed in the homes of the people and at court, alike, and thus had the power to mould the popular ideals and accomplish the hopes of Elijah. Each prophet played an impressive and important part in Israel's history.

(253.) **Jehu's Bloody Reform.** The concluding act in the great religious struggle of this century, one which brought the rival dynasties to a simultaneous close, was the revolt of Jehu at the bidding of Elisha. He was the general of the army of Israel and commanding the operations against Ramoth-Gilead. The story of his anointing by the young prophet, his cautious sounding of his fellow officers, their instant response, his ruthless and rapid execution, not alone of the supporters of Baalism, but likewise of Ahab's whole house, the leaders of Israel who had been close to him (10: 11), the king and princes of Judah (10: 12-14) makes vivid reading. Jehu's blind and bloody zeal outran all bounds. By these massacres,

*For the empire he left see the upper, right hand map facing page 138.

he put an end to the friendly relations with Judah and Phoenicia, and greatly weakened his kingdom. His character warrants the adverse judgment of Hosea about a century later (Hos. 1:4).

IX.

THE CENTURY OF INVASION BY ARAM AND ASSYRIA, AND OF THE STEADY INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH. 842-740 B.C. (SECOND KINGS 10:29 to 15:7)

(254.) The next one hundred years following the accession of Jehu divides about equally into a period of humiliating oppression at the hands of Aram and a period of rapidly growing prosperity under wise, powerful and enterprising rulers. The influences which surrounded the Hebrew people were such as to broaden their contact with the world. They began to realize how great the world was and that its peoples were in inevitable relationship. The end of the century found them intellectually a people in touch with wide ranging affairs.

We miss the stirring prophetic narratives in these chapters, yet they are not devoid of intense human interest. The stories of the coronation of Jehoash, of the boastfulness of Amaziah and of the repair of the Temple, enliven the record. In the main, however, it is an annalistic record, which has to be supplemented from other sources.

The exact chronology of this century is beyond any historian's power to determine. Each kingdom had four sovereigns, counting Athaliah as one. The sum of the regnal years attributed to the kings of Israel is 102 years. The sum of those attributed to the sovereigns of Judah amounts to 127 years. It seems certain, however, that the close of the reign of Jeroboam II was of almost the same date as that of Uzziah. What to do with the extra twenty-five years is uncertain. The reign of Athaliah is not ignored by the editor of Kings (12:1). It is possible that the reign of Amaziah was much less than twenty-nine years (14:2). The dates indicated below are relatively correct.

JUDAH	842	ISRAEL	
Athaliah, 842-836		Jehu, 842-814	
Joash, 836-796 (8)			
		Jehoahaz, 814-797	Fifth Dynasty
Amaziah 796 (8)—782 or 789		Jehoash, 797-781	
Uzziah 782 or 789-740		Jeroboam II, 781-740	
(Jotham co-regent, 751-740)			
	740		

1. Fifty Years of Aramean Ascendancy. (II Kings 8:7-29; 10:32 to 13:25).

(255.) These passages describe the attacks of the Arameans of Damascus upon Israel, the usurpation of the throne of Judah by Athaliah, her dethronement and the long reign of Jehoash.

How did Hazael come to succeed Benhadad on the throne of Damascus? (8:7-15.) What was his attitude toward Israel? (10:32, 33; 8:12; 12:17, 18; 13:22; Amos 1:3.) How successful was he? (13:7, 22.) What Israelitish king turned the tide of war back again? (13:14-19, 25.) What was the religious verdict of history concerning Jehu? (10:31.) What portion of his kingdom did he lose? (10:32, 33.) How did his son fare? (13:7.) How did Athaliah try to secure the throne of Judah for herself? (11:1.) How was the little prince Jehoash saved? (11:2-3.) How was Jehoash restored to his rightful place? (11:4-16.) What four factors took part in this revolution? (11:4, 14.) What religious reform immediately followed? (11:17-18.) What did the young king plan for the Temple? (12:4-5.) Who was at fault in its delay? (12:6-8.) By whom was the work completed? (12:15.)

(256.) **The Aramean Oppression.** Whether it was cowardice or policy which moved Jehu to send tribute

to Shalmaneser II, instead of joining Hazael of Damascus, in resisting the Assyrian advance, his dominions paid dearly for the act. Hazael was prompt to take vengeance. He ravaged the East-Jordan territory (10:32, 33) as far as the Arnon. Quite possibly Amos (1:3, 13) refers to the barbarities of this campaign. If so, he suggests that Ammon joined with Hazael, hoping for some of the coveted territory. The loss of Gilead must have been sorely felt by the northern kingdom.

Under Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, the humiliation of Israel was complete (13:7) and Judah was saved from invasion only by the prompt submission of Jehoash (12:18) to Hazael. The Israelitish army was reduced to "fifty horsemen, ten chariots and ten thousand footmen." (13:7.)

According to the Biblical narrative, Jehoash, Jehu's grandson, was enabled by some "saviour" (13:5) to take the aggressive against Benhadad III, the son of Hazael (13:25, 18, 19), and to win back some of his lost territory. It has been generally supposed that this "saviour" was the Assyrian Adad-nirari, who compelled Mari, the son of Benhadad III, to capitulate and pay a heavy booty. M. Pognon, the French consul in Mesopotamia, thinks, however, that the cause of the weakness of Damascus was another Aramean kingdom of Hazrak, which flourished for about fifty years.

(257.) **Queen Athaliah's Seizure of the Throne.** Athaliah, the wife of Jehoram, was not unlike her mother, Jezebel, in pride and audacity. When Ahaziah became king, she was the queen mother, a personage of great influence. At his sudden death she seized the throne of Judah for herself, slaying, as she supposed, all the young princes. How this could take place and her reign be undisturbed for six years, may be explained by noting that she could rely upon her bodyguard of foreigners (11:4); that she did not disturb the worship at the Temple, and that she probably had a fairly strong party behind her. In the narratives Jehoiada relies on the "people of the land," who are, perhaps, intentionally

contrasted with "the city." (11:20.) Athaliah was a woman of unusual capacity. It is clear that the high priest gave her no chance to interfere with the revolt.

(258.) **The Enthronement of Joash.** The story of the coronation of the little boy Joash is most dramatic. The details are not absolutely clear, but are sufficiently so. The high priest, Jehoiada, whose wife was the little king's aunt, secured the support of the soldiers and relied upon the enthusiastic acceptance of the king by the "people of the land." The revolution was a wholesome one over which the best people rejoiced. It had a religious, no less than a political significance, and was immediately followed both by the destruction of the temple of Baal and the death of its priest, and by a solemn renewal of the national covenant with Jehovah.

(259.) **His Long Reign over Judah.** The young king had a long reign. The event which does him most honor was the improvement of the Temple, which took place while he was still a young man. He found the Temple in need of repairs. He urged the priests to use the money realized by assessments upon individuals and from free will offerings (12:4) for this purpose, retaining the trespass offerings for themselves. (12:16.) Nearly half of his reign had passed without any action on the part of the priests, when the young monarch took matters into his own hands, and had the income referred to above paid directly to the contractors, who took pride in the faithful performance of the work.

After Jehoiada's death, Joash deteriorated. According to the Chronicler, he relapsed in his loyalty to Jehovah (II Chron. 24:17-19) and, when criticized by Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, he ordered that the priest be stoned to death. (24:20-22.) The Chronicler connects this dastardly deed with the expedition of Hazael, which caused Joash to strip the Temple in order to buy the invader off. (II Ki. 12:17, 18.) This display of weakness led to a conspiracy which ended his life. (II Ki. 12:20.)

2. The Glorious and Prosperous Reigns of Uzziah and Jeroboam II. (II Ki. 14:1 to 15:7; II Chron. 26.)

(260.) These chapters describe the reigns of Amaziah, Uzziah and Jeroboam II. It is one of the puzzles of Biblical history why such noteworthy reigns had such scant mention.

What important betterment of the moral code of Judah did Amaziah recognize? (14:6. Compare Josh. 7:24, 25; II Sam. 21:1-6; II Ki. 9:26.) Against what country did he wage successful war? (14:7.) What was the occasion of his defeat by Jehoash, of Israel? (14:8-14.) How did he die? (14:19, 20.) What was the length of the reigns of Uzziah and Jeroboam? (14:23; 15:2.) What did Uzziah do for his army? (II Chr. 26:11-14.) With what nations did he war? (II Chr. 26:6-8.) How did he command peace and security? (II Chr. 26:10, 15.) What disease laid hold on him? (II Chr. 26:21.) What was the great achievement recorded concerning Jeroboam II? (II Ki. 14:25.)

(261.) **Interesting Indications of Ethical and Religious Advance.** Three items of the data recorded about this general period are worthy of recapitulation as showing progress ethically and religiously. The first is the leniency which Amaziah showed to the kinsmen of the conspirators. (14:6.) He virtually denied the binding force of a custom to which Joshua, David and Ahab had yielded. It was a great ethical advance to deny the moral solidarity of the family or clan. Another item is the recognition by Joash of vested rights of the priesthood. Still another is the growing popularity of the Temple and independence of its priesthood. They were beginning to assert themselves and their rights as against the whims of the king. (II Chr. 26:17-19.) The forces were at work which created the Jerusalem of Isaiah and Josiah.

(262.) **The Rapid Prosperity of Judah.** The reign of Amaziah was promising but ended in disaster. The good judgment which he displayed in dealing with his father's

murderers and in opening the highway to Elath by defeating Edom, stand in curious contrast to his challenge of Jehoash, which resulted in a crushing defeat, a weakened capital and his own death.

His son Uzziah had a very long and prosperous reign. Why the editor of the books of Kings virtually ignored it is a mystery. The Chronicler gives a very complete account of Uzziah's achievements. He extended the boundaries of his dominions in every available direction, southward, westward and eastward. (II Chr. 26: 6-8.) He encouraged agriculture, built towers along the desert highways for the protection of commerce (26: 10), re-equipped his army, and strongly fortified Jerusalem (26: 9.) He gave a great impulse to business of all kinds, to building enterprises within and without the city, and to the increase of wealth. Jerusalem grew rapidly in population, resources, leadership and distinction. Its greatest danger lay in its mixed population. The descriptions of Isaiah in his earliest addresses (2: 6-9; 3: 1-5, 14, 15, 16-23) give a picture of the city which Uzziah left at his death, with its luxury and vice, its excesses and tyranny in high places, its foreigners, its crowds, its perversions of justice (5: 7), its great ladies in proud array,—all the accompaniments of outward success. At the same time, the prophet thought of her as the Zion which was Jehovah's abode, great in her possibilities.

(263.) **Jeroboam II of Israel.** The reign of Jeroboam II over Israel almost exactly paralleled that of Uzziah over Judah. It was equally successful, and even more glorious. Jeroboam reconquered the lost territory east of Jordan, and laid the Moabites under tribute (as implied by Amos 6: 14). He extended his authority to the gateway between the Lebanons, that marked the southern boundary of Hamath, and apparently occupied some of the territory of Damascus (14: 28). His people, freed from all outward dangers, were enabled to develop a marked prosperity, which the sermons of Amos reflect with startling clearness. Amos declares that the nobles

and men of wealth and power vied in building luxurious palaces, urged on by ease-loving wives. He charges that in their greed for wealth, they used their advantage of authority or power to make themselves rich at any cost of fairness. He claims that the rapid increase of material prosperity was blunting the national conscience. But every average Israelite was full of enthusiasm over his king and his country.

(264.) **The Literature of Israel.** It is quite useless to give exact dates to writings about which we can merely conjecture. At some date within the two centuries which we have reviewed, a prophet, or group of prophets, in the northern kingdom prepared a history of the Hebrew people, which paralleled the one already mentioned (§ 244). It once was called the Elohistic History, but is generally known as the Ephraimitish History, and referred to as "E." This history began with the story of Abraham. It was full of details, traditions, customs and principles. It emphasized the great personalities through whom Jehovah did His work of providential guidance for Israel. Much of the rich biographical material of the Hexateuch was taken from "E." It recalled the forms and modes through which at holy places and elsewhere God revealed Himself to His people. The early reign of Jeroboam may well have inspired these men of God to attempt such a task. The alternative date would seem to be the days of Ahab.

The prophet Amos must have completed his ministry (Amos 7: 10, 11) and Hosea have begun his work before the death of Jeroboam, but the discussion of their activities is reserved for the next section.

The prophetic order in Israel very evidently gathered up the records of their own great leaders and committed them to writing. Such work is all that we can definitely assign to this century.

3. The Growing Northern Menace. (II. Ki. 15: 19, 20, 29.)

(265.) It is extremely fortunate for the student of Hebrew history that the Assyrian kings had the habit of recording their campaigns in so detailed a fashion. Otherwise, the participation of Ahab in the battle of Qarqar in 854 B.C. (§ 251), and in the confederated resistances of 849 B.C. and 846 B.C., and the tribute which Jehu hastened to forward to king Shalmaneser II, in 842 B.C., and the repeated attempts by Shalmaneser and Adad-nirari to subdue Damascus, would be unknown. When the books of Kings were put into form, Assyria had ceased to exist. Details about her campaigns may have seemed relatively unimportant.

For a comprehension of the world which Amos and Isaiah faced, and of their attitude, we need to review the situation in Palestine, as influenced by the great powers of the day. Ashurnazirpal, the king of Assyria, the contemporary of Ahab of Israel and Jehoshaphat of Judah, not only established a real empire, but set a standard of savagery and relentlessness in conquest which made the Assyrian a dreaded foe for centuries. His campaigning son, Shalmaneser II, the antagonist against whom Ahab, with the confederated kings, fought so many drawn battles, and to whom Jehu promptly proffered his submission, determined, at all costs, to win the "Westland" from Hamath to Egypt.* He left this ambition as a legacy to his successors. Adad-nirari III of Assyria (811-783 B.C.), a contemporary of Jehoahaz and Joash of Israel, and of Mari of Damascus, repeatedly attacked northern Syria, weakened the power of Damascus, and increased Assyrian prestige in the "Westland." For the next half century, practically during the reigns of Jeroboam II, and Uzziah, the three sovereigns on the throne of Assyria were able to do little more than hold their own. They did not actually interfere with the interests or the aggressions of Israel or Judah. But the policy of the empire was unchanged. An observer like Amos (Am. 5: 27; 6: 14) might not know just when

*For the extent of his success see the two upper maps facing page 138.

it would happen, but could be sure that eventually the Assyrian would become a scourge of Israel.

The accession to the Assyrian throne in 745 B.C. of Tiglath-pileser IV, a great soldier and strong administrator, revived the policy of conquest and added that of the deportation of captives and the settlement of other peoples in the conquered districts. This policy was not entirely original, but henceforth it was consistently followed. Tiglath-pileser attacked Urartu, his only rival empire on the north and west, and broke its power. The only remaining rival was Egypt, a country with traditions, but no power. Isaiah well characterized her as a great promiser, but poor fulfiller (30:7; 31:1, 3). But a party in Palestine was inclined at times to rely upon her prowess (Isa. 30:1-3). Hosea (9:3) was not quite certain whether his people would be captives in Assyria or Egypt.

X.

THE HALF CENTURY OF PROPHETIC REINTERPRETATION OF THE RELATIONS OF JEHOVAH WITH HIS PEOPLE. About 755-686 B.C. (AMOS, HOSEA, ISAIAH 1-39, MICAH AND SECOND KINGS 15:8 to 20:21)

(266.) The period from a little before 755 B.C. to about 700 B.C., was in many respects the most important half century of Old Testament times. During it the first great step in the creation of the religious life of the world of today was taken. The prophet Amos introduced a religious renaissance, whose most important factor was a change of emphasis from ritual exactness to approvable character, as the significant expression of religion. Up to this time the Hebrew people, like other peoples around them, had thought of Jehovah as demanding worship; Amos and the other prophets insisted that He demanded moral conduct. Such a message was not altogether new, but Amos and his colleagues gave it convincingness. The four prophets of this half century, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah, have a marked unity of general viewpoint, with an equally marked variety of application. No one of them gives expression to the full-orbed religious think-

ing of this half century. Each contributed his especial share, Isaiah most of all. Their great insistence was that Jehovah must be thought of principally in terms of character, that His approval and blessing of His people rested on that basis, and that His sphere of influence and interest was the whole world of humankind.

This half century included, just before its close, one of the events of great importance in human history, the deliverance of the beleaguered city of Jerusalem, through the sudden wasting by pestilence of the army of Sennacherib (II Ki. 19: 35, 36) in 701 B.C. The many-sided significance of that relief is discussed below (§298).

(267.) The sources drawn upon for information are of unusual value. The book of Amos is essentially a first-hand record. Hosea is equally so, although the thought is less connected and intelligible. The book of Micah seems to include chapters which date later than this half century, but the pertinent material is of very great value. Isaiah 1-39 includes some chapters of later date, and requires much rearrangement of the order of the chapters which relate to the days of Isaiah's active ministry, but throws a brilliant light upon the age. The chapters of Second Kings contain short notices regarding the kings and their reigns, taken from the annals of Israel and Judah (15: 8 to 16: 9; 17: 1-6), an extract from the Temple records, perhaps (16: 10-18), the editor's summing up of the history of Northern Israel (17: 7-23), his explanation of the origin of the Samaritans (17: 24-41), and a stirring account, in the noblest prophetic style, of Sennacherib's invasion (18: 13 to 19: 37), preceded by data from the Judean annals (18: 1-12), and followed by extracts from a collection of stories about Isaiah (20). Out of all these, aided by the records of Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser, Sargon and Sennacherib, we can construct today a narrative which clears up some of the uncertainties of the Old Testament record.

(268.) The chronology of the period is puzzling. Assuming that Jeroboam II died in 740 B.C., a date

which must be approximately correct, the total number of years allotted by the Biblical record to the six kings who followed him on the throne of Israel, is forty-two years. But Samaria fell in 721 B.C. Probably the ten years of Menahem and the twenty years of Pekah, are round numbers, intended to indicate unknown but relatively brief periods. Ahaz was on the throne in 735 B.C. Hezekiah came to the throne about 715, if 18:13 is correct and 18:9 is not. Jotham's sixteen years (15:33) can only be given him by supposing that most of them were years of the regency (15:5). The following table is, at best, a conjectural adjustment, taking all data into account.

JUDAH	740	ISRAEL
Uzziah to 737		Zechariah and Shallum. 740 B.C. Sixth Dynasty
Jotham, 737-735		Menahem, 740-736 } Seventh Dynasty
Ahaz, 735-715?		Pekahiah, 736-735 }
		Pekah, 736-735. Eighth Dynasty
		Hoshea, 732-722-1. Ninth Dynasty
		The downfall of Samaria, 722-1
Hezekiah, 715-686		
Isaiah dramatically blocks the proposed revolt against Sargon, 711.		
	710	
M's emb. to J. 705		
Sennacherib's first invasion, 701.		
Sennacherib's second invasion, 689.		
Hezek's reform measures, 688.		
	686	

1. The Messages of Amos (c745 B.C.) and Hosea (c745-735 B.C.) to Northern Israel.

(269.) **The Book of Amos.*** This is the earliest complete portion of the Bible which we may read today substantially as it was first put into writing over twenty-six centuries ago. The following outline will serve to guide the student in reading it intelligently. The portions

* The usual questions are omitted in this section, since each student should read both books, guided by the very full outline.

bracketed are probably later additions to the original utterances of Amos.

1. [The superscription. 1: 1.]
2. [The theme or text. 1: 2.]
3. Jehovah will certainly act in judgment against Israel's neighbors and against Israel herself. 1: 3 to 2: 16.
4. The incredible wickedness of Samaria, her luxury and greed, justify the prophet's message. 3: 1 to 4: 3.
5. Israel, in spite of repeated warnings, offers Jehovah ceremonialism rather than repentance. 4: 4-13.
6. Repentance is the only, and yet the unlikely, way of escape from judgment. 5: 1-17.
7. Only righteousness can make the Day of Jehovah other than a time of doom. 5: 18-27.
8. You who with confidence indulge your appetites and forget those who are in need, will surely taste the bitter doom of exile. 6: 1-14.
9. Three visions of approaching judgment; the locusts, the scorching drought, and the wall ready to tumble down. 7: 1-9.
10. The account of the charge of conspiracy and Amos' reply. 7: 10-17.
11. The fourth vision of judgment: Israel's end imminent. 8: 1-3.
12. The social sins and religious unfaithfulness of Israel will cause Jehovah to ignore her pleas. 8: 4-14.
13. The fifth vision: Jehovah's unescapable vengeance. 9: 1-4.
14. The mighty Jehovah's all-seeing eye regards only Israel's persistent sinfulness. 9: 5-8*a*.
15. [The scattering of the people will be a sifting, with happy days yet in store. 9: 8*b*-15.]

(270.) **The Prophet Amos.** Amos was a native of Tekoa in Judah (1: 1; 7: 12). He delivered this stern message to the people of the northern kingdom during the last decade of the splendid reign of Jeroboam II. He was a shepherd or small farmer (1: 1; 7: 14, 15). Jerusalem and Hebron were not far away, and Bethel only twenty-five miles distant. To dispose of his wool, he may often have visited these larger places, where he could observe the conditions of life on which he comments and could hear of the outside world. The luxury, injustice, and evil-doing of the social world of his day seemed terribly wrong to him. He pondered over the contrasts between Jehovah's expectations and the public life of his people, until the impulse to point out the danger and give a warning became irresistible. He spoke to Israel rather than to Judah, because the kindred nation was nearing a crisis.

(271.) **His Message to Israel.** Amos assumed that Jehovah is Israel's God (3:2). He has guided His people providentially (2:9). The land of the Hebrews is hallowed by His presence (7:17). Jehovah is distinctively a righteous Being. He lays stress upon the right conduct of His people, not upon their activity in pilgrimages or festivals or sacrifice (4:4, 5; 5:4-7, 12, 14, 15, 21-24). Israel's sins of greed, injustice and extortion would astonish even the Philistines (3:9). Warnings have been of no avail (4:6-10; 7:1-9). The end is near (8:1-3). Jehovah cannot condone such persistency in evil. As the guardian of the moral order of the world (1:3; 9:7), He will bring upon Israel a complete and irremediable destruction (9:8*a*) through a northern foe (2:14-16; 5:27; 6:14; 7:9).

(272.) **The Book of Hosea.** The prophecies of Hosea are harder to understand in detail than those of Amos, but the trend of thought can be followed with the aid of the outline. There are two distinct sections, chs. 1-3 and chs. 4-14. No logical arrangement is discernible.

1. [The superscription. 1:1.]
2. Hosea, at God's command, marries a harlot and has three children with names which imply God s purpose to punish Israel (1:2-9).
3. [In due time, Israel shall be restored to favor. 1:10 to 2:1.]
4. Israel's sin of unfaithfulness to Jehovah (2:2-5) and her disciplinary experience. 2:8-13.
5. Jehovah's redemptive earnestness and Israel's repentance and restoration. 2:14-23.
6. As Hosea's wife had to be disciplined in seclusion, so would Israel be disciplined by exile. 3:1-5.
7. Israel's crimes are flagrant, the priests abetting the people. 4:1-10.
8. Israel's unfaithfulness to Jehovah seems incurable. 4:11-19.
9. So great is her ignorance and wilfulness that the impending disaster cannot be averted. 5:1-14.
10. Realizing her plight, Israel will express repentance; but it will be superficial and useless, she is so corrupt. 6:1 to 7:7.
11. Israel is without a consistent policy, political or religious; she is insincere and unfaithful. 7:8-16.
12. Her rulers and gods and policies are alike hostile to Jehovah, her worship unacceptable. 8:1-14.
13. Israel's unfaithfulness will be punished by exile, swift and sweeping. 9:1-17.
14. Her shrines and images shall be destroyed; her deep-rooted wickedness deserves invasion. 10:1-15.

15. Jehovah has dealt with Israel as with a son; she is ungrateful, but He passionately longs to forgive her. 11: 1-11.
16. Israel's habit of deceitfulness cannot be overlooked. 12: 1-14.
17. Baalism, the worship of images, ruined Ephraim; the people ignore Jehovah; no one can protect them from His just judgment. 13: 1-16.
18. O, Israel, repent of your iniquity and trust in Jehovah alone. 14: 1-3.
19. He will pardon you and give you great prosperity. 14: 4-8.
20. [An editorial "word to the wise." 14: 9.]

(273.) **The Prophet Hosea.** Fortunately, this contemporary of Amos was his opposite. Their natures and their messages were complemental. Hosea was a citizen of the Northern Kingdom (1: 2; 7: 5; 6:10). He spoke as a patriot who longed to save his people. His view of the situation was just as clear as that of Amos. He even made out a stronger case of national corruption. But his spirit was tender and sympathetic, rather than critical. He dealt with his theme in a more emotional way, speaking from the depths of bitter patriotic conviction. He seems more spiritually minded than Amos.

We know nothing about his personal life, except through the domestic tragedy described in chs. 1-3. Students differ regarding its interpretation. Some think that Hosea fell in love with a woman in whom he believed and trusted, and married her. He soon discovered her unfaithfulness and was at length deserted by her for another. His persistent love for her led him to buy her back with the purpose of restoring her honorable status after the discipline of seclusion and after her repentance. Reflecting on this experience, he saw that it was a revelation to him of Jehovah's experience with Israel. Other scholars take 1: 2 very literally. Hosea married an unchaste woman in obedience to Jehovah's command, and as a public object-lesson, intended to provoke questioning, and to enable Hosea to deliver his peculiar message. Such a step would impress all Israel with a sense of the shocking relationship to Jehovah, in which the nation had placed itself. This view greatly emphasizes the self-sacrifice of Hosea and his dramatic genius. It implies that, after the children were born, Hosea placed Gomer in seclusion as a further symbol of the captivity and discipline which Israel needed.

(274.) **His Message to Israel.** Like Amos, Hosea saw the selfish wickedness of Israel and the necessity and certainty of judgment, but he made much clearer than Amos did the divine attitude toward his guilty people. Jehovah was not merely Israel's master, exacting obedience to his ideals, but rather Israel's husband, cleaving to her and caring for her in spite of her gross unfaithfulness, and her father, tenderly training her. He was a god of righteousness and justice, but also One whose love was inextinguishable. Israel's case seemed hopeless. Her judgment could not be averted, but since Jehovah was a husband and a father, the punishment would be redemptive in its purpose and effect. Israel must continue to trust Him.

This was a great message, deeply spiritual, recognizing the seriousness of sin, but proclaiming the equally persistent love of God. It lifted the relationship of Jehovah with his people onto a new moral and religious plane. The difference between the thinking of Amos and Hosea and the thinking of Elijah and Elisha seems phenomenal. Amos had criticised the popular worship of Jehovah as a substitute for every-day right conduct; Hosea attacked it as the expression of a low, materialistic conception of God's character. A right knowledge of Jehovah (2:8, 20; 4:1; 5:4; 6:3, 4) and a deliberate responsiveness to His loving approach, Hosea declared to be the two real remedies for his country's troubles. The twenty-six centuries since Hosea's day have not belied his judgment.

2. The Assumption of Political Control over Palestine by Assyria and the Downfall of the Northern Kingdom. 740-721-2 B.C. (II Kings 15:8 to 17:41, Isaiah 7:1-9.)

(275.) These passages describe the quick succession of kings and dynasties in Israel after Jeroboam's death, the weakness of Ahaz, the rapid encroachments of the Assyrians, and the downfall of Samaria.

How many dynasties were represented by the six

Israelitish kings to Hoshea? (15:8 to 17:6.) How many dynasties were there during the two centuries and more of Israel's existence as a separate people? How many were there in Judah during the same period? What misfortune happened to Israel in the days of Menahem? (15:19, 20.) What step did the kings of Damascus and Israel take against Ahaz to force him into a coalition against Assyria? (16:5; Isa. 7:1-9.) How did Ahaz, despite Isaiah's advice, deal with this dangerous situation? (16:7, 8.) What was the first political result in 734 B.C.? (15:29.) What was the next result in 732 B.C.? (16:9.) When Ahaz went to Damascus to pay homage to the Assyrian king, what religious impression was made on him? (16:10-16.) What frightful sacrifices did the regular Assyrian tribute impose upon his people? (16:8, 17, 18.) For what reason did Shalmaneser IV, the son of Tiglath-pileser, beseige Samaria? (17:3-5.) How long did the city hold out? (17:5.) What was done by Sargon, Shalmaneser's son, to the captured people? (17:6.) What is the explanation by the editor of the books of Kings of this disaster? (17:7-23.) How did the half-heathen Samaritan community of later days develop? (17:24-41.)

(276.) **Israel's Two Decades after Jeroboam II.** The prosperity which characterized the realm of Jeroboam II disappeared rapidly after his death. Internal strife, foreign invasion, and crushing tribute brought the northern kingdom to sudden ruin. Hosea alludes to rapid dynastic changes, dissensions, conspiracies, appeals for foreign aid. In seven years there were six recognized rulers and four changes of dynasty. Political and social, as well as religious conditions, were chaotic. In 738 Menahem had to pay Tiglath-pileser (whose Babylonian name, 15:19, was Pulu) an enormous tribute (15:19, 20). In 734 B.C. the same invader annexed all of Galilee and East-Jordan, leaving only central Palestine to Pekah, Israel's king. In 732 B.C. he overran, completely crushed, and absorbed into the Assyrian empire the kingdom of Damascus, so long the bold, resourceful and

energetic bulwark of Israel against Assyrian aggression. A decade later his grandson, Sargon, just ascending the throne, received the news of Samaria's fall.

(277.) **The Lost Ten Tribes.** Sargon states in his inscription relating to the fall of Samaria that he carried away into exile twenty-seven thousand, two hundred and ninety of its inhabitants. This small number must have represented the leaders of Israel, those whose presence would endanger the peace he wished to assure. These captives and those of the earlier invasion were settled in different parts of the vast Assyrian empire (17:6). The great bulk of the people of Samaria were not disturbed. Sargon settled among them some of his own faithful subjects. Henceforth the northern kingdom was merged into the Assyrian empire.

Some of the exiled Israelites may have found their way back again to Palestine, but the majority were absorbed by the peoples among whom they were settled. The Ten Tribes were effectually lost. The idea that they will be found again has no foundation.

(278.) **Tiglath-pileser IV (745-727), Shalmaneser IV (727-722), and Sargon II (722-705).** It was Israel's misfortune to be opposed at her time of crisis by rulers of commanding ability. Tiglath-pileser IV died in 727 B.C., having wrought Assyria by his organizing genius into a true empire, greater than ever before. His immediate successor, Shalmaneser IV (727-722 B.C.) had no opportunity to make an equal fame, but he dealt the final blow to the northern Israelitish kingdom. Hoshea, made king over "the house of Omri" by Tiglath-pileser IV, was persuaded by Egypt (II Kings 17:4) to revolt against Shalmaneser. He refused the annual tribute. Shalmaneser marched against northern Israel, defeated and captured Hoshea, and determined to capture Samaria and put an end to the independent life of the kingdom. Just as Samaria was about to fall, after holding out for three years (17:5), Shalmaneser died. His successor, Sargon II (722-705 B.C.), carried out his plans for Israel. (17:6). Sargon was a ruler of wonderful energy and

capacity. During his reign he broke the power of Urartu and Babylonia, the long time centres of disaffection and danger, reorganized the empire and left it to his successor fairly well unified. In the grip of such a sovereign the little states of the "Westland" were wholly helpless (Isa. 10: 14), unless they acted absolutely as a unit or unless they were efficiently assisted by Egypt. Every resistance to Assyrian aggression from this time onward was based on an attempted alliance or on the promises of Egypt.

3. Isaiah's Early Messages to Judah in the Days of Jotham and Ahaz. (II Kings 15: 32 to 16: 20; Isaiah 1-12, 17.)

(279.) These passages give us the secret of Isaiah's steadiness and serenity, as he faced the bitter problems at home and the pressing dangers abroad.

Isaiah's Earliest Sermons (738-734 B.C.).

1. The vision of Jehovah's majesty and holiness which made Isaiah a prophet. 6.
2. Jehovah's vineyard and its wild grapes: greed for land, drunkenness, skepticism, sophistry, conceit and injustice. 5: 1-24.
3. The popular ideal of Jerusalem and the sad reality, a city of superstition, corruption, pride, and luxury. 2: 1 to 4: 6.
4. The judgment about to fall upon Israel: war, disaster, anarchy, calamity, invasion. 9: 8 to 10: 4; 5: 25-30.
5. Israel's bulwark and Israel herself are doomed. 17: 1-11.
6. Faith, not fear, is our true attitude, O Ahaz. (7: 1-17.) Your action means that Judah will be ravaged (7: 17-23), Damascus and Samaria will fall and Judah will be invaded. (8: 1-8.) Fear Jehovah only. (8: 9-15.) The blinded people will be reduced to deep despair (8: 16-22), but a great Deliverer will arise, capable of establishing peace and righteousness. (9: 1-7.) 7: 1 to 9: 7.

(280.) When did Isaiah receive his call to be a prophet? (Isa. 6: 1.) Where was he at the time? (6: 2.) What two ideas about Jehovah were impressed upon him? (6: 1-3). What twofold effect was produced? (6: 5-8). What lifelong prospect was placed before him? (6: 9-13.) What evils of the Judah of that early day did he attack as being wild grapes from Jehovah's vineyard? (5: 1-24.) What evils did he point out in Jerusalem? (2: 6-9, 12, 17; 3: 5-12, 14-16.) What judgments did

he declare would fall on Israel? (9: 8 to 10: 4; 5: 25-30.) What plot was planned against Judah in the last days of Jotham's reign? (II Ki. 15:37.) Under what king of Judah was it executed? (Isa. 7: 1.) What effect did the rumor have? (7: 2.) What noble advice did Isaiah give Ahaz? (7: 3-9.) What sign did he thrust indignantly upon the obstinate king? (7: 10-16.) How did he appeal to the people of Judah? (8: 1-4.) What was the course of action taken by Ahaz? (II Ki. 16: 7-9.) What especially impressed Ahaz at the temporary Assyrian headquarters? (16: 10-16.) What did the continued payment of tribute force him to do at the Temple? (16: 17, 18.) What results of this alliance with Assyria did Isaiah foresee? (Isa. 7: 17-25; 8: 5-8.) What two splendid promises developed out of the dark background of national disaster? (7: 3; 9: 1-7.)

(281.) **The Book of Isaiah.** This book is almost a literature. It is a collection of prophetic collections of varying dates. It contains prophecies of the days of Isaiah, the son of Amos, together with those which have no reference whatever to his age. In this historical survey the portions which relate to each period are discussed in connection with that period. The book as a whole divides into two great sections, 1-39, 40-66. The former may be analyzed thus: (1) An introductory, representative prophecy hard to date; (2) a little volume of discourses about Judah and Jerusalem (2-12); (3) a group of " burdens " or oracles mainly against foreign nations (15-23); (4) an apocalyptic vision of world judgment on the " day of Jehovah " intermingled with lyrics of uncertain date (24-27); (5) a group of " woes " or warnings and consolations to Jerusalem (28-33); (6) a brilliant apocalyptical vision of the golden age, which is a conclusion to this first great group of prophecies (34, 35). To this collection was added a historical appendix, quite probably taken from the narrative of II Kings (36-39). The analysis of chapters 40-66 will be given at the periods to which they relate.

(282.) **Isaiah's Call to be a Prophet.** Isaiah was one of the few master-minds of history. He had a task of tremendous difficulty. He faced it with a serenity and consistency which are fully explained by the glorious vision which initiated his prophetic career and established the great convictions which gripped and enlightened him. He saw Jehovah upon His throne, majestic and holy. Thenceforth He was a sublime spiritual Presence whose glory fills the universe, whose invincible purpose (14: 26) directs all history, the "Holy One of Israel," a great religious reality.

(283.) **His First Few Years of Prophetic Activity.** Three distinct periods in his prophetic life are reflected in the first twelve chapters of the book of Isaiah. The fine introductory chapter, which emphasized several of Isaiah's great ideas, is usually allotted to the later period of his ministry (about 701 B.C.), along with 10: 5 to 11: 9. Chapters 2: 1 to 6: 13; 9: 5 to 10: 4 form an all too brief record of his fine, clear insight into the social and spiritual conditions of Jerusalem and Judah just prior to 735 B.C., which went straight to their causes and consequences. It is worth while to study these prophecies from the standpoint of literature. Isaiah was a master of noble speech, incisive, clear, figurative; with words that burn he revealed the corruption, materialism, frivolity, depravity and skepticism of Judean society and the sweeping judgments by which Jehovah would bring His people to their senses. Chapters 7: 1 to 10: 4 set forth the earnest appeals of Isaiah in 735 B.C. to Ahaz and the people to dissuade them from an alliance with Tiglath-pileser, affirming the wisdom of trusting Jehovah (7: 9), the certainty that the action of Ahaz would insure disaster to his own land (7: 17-25; 8: 5-8) and a fine message of hope (9: 1-7).

(284.) **His Early Ideas.** Isaiah, like Amos and Hosea, prophesied a divine judgment upon his people. But he clarified and organized the ideas which he shared with these great predecessors. His favorite phrase for Jehovah, the "Holy One of Israel," carried with it the righteous-

ness of Amos and the redemptive love of Hosea, but implied besides His freedom from all limitations and His moral perfection. From His exalted viewpoint righteousness, not ritual, was the real expression of religion, but His people were hopelessly sinful. Hence Jehovah must send judgments upon Judah. These would take the form of invasion by an army (5: 26-29), involving distress and humiliation; but not the failure of God's plans. There would be a " Remnant," a better Israel, whose right development would be assured by the leader whom Jehovah would produce, the four-named King of peace, justice, and strength (Isa. 9:6).

(285.) **The Crisis of 735 B.C. and the Fatal Resolve of Ahaz.** It is evident that Ahaz, who came to the throne rather young, was an obstinate weakling, unwilling to take counsel. When threatened by Pekah of Israel and Rezon of Damascus, who were aiming to form a coalition of Palestinian states against Assyria, and proposed, if necessary, to compel Ahaz to join them, Ahaz meditated submission to Assyria as a means of counteracting their attack. Isaiah advised the king to trust calmly in Jehovah and avoid all entangling alliances. But Ahaz had already committed himself and began to negotiate with Tiglath-pileser IV of Assyria. He paid homage in person to the great king at Damascus, and aped his customs. Isaiah could do nothing more. For about twenty years Ahaz continued to reign. His people felt the galling yoke of Assyria with growing impatience, but dared not rise against the terrible Sargon. The next datable word of Isaiah was given expression a quarter of a century after the encounter with Ahaz. The prophet probably lived a quiet life, surrounded by disciples. The " teaching " was " sealed " (8: 16). His children, " Speed-spoil-hurry-prey " and " Remnant shall turn " were continually preaching two of his great ideas. There was little that he could do publicly. His fine and noble character and the gradual confirmation of his words gave him a growing place in the minds of his people.

4. The Work of Isaiah and Micah in the Decade preceding Sennacherib's Invasion of Palestine in 701 B.C. (Isaiah 20: 1-6; 28-33 mainly; II Ki. 20: 12-20; II Chron. 32: 30, 4, 5; II Ki. 18: 1-8; Micah 1-3.)

(286.) These passages relate the stirring history of the days when Judah and other states were restless under Assyrian control and ready to revolt.

The Messages of Isaiah between 710 and 701 B.C.

7. How Isaiah prevented the people from making an alliance against Sargon with Egypt about 711 B.C. 20: 1-6.
8. A group of prophecies (prefixed by one which had been uttered about Samaria before 721, 28: 1-6) in which Isaiah opposes vigorously the proposed alliance with Egypt against Sennacherib. Read 28: 7-13 ("those who are impatient over Isaiah's reiteration of his message will hear Jehovah's message in Assyrian"), 28: 14-22; 30: 1-5, 6-7; 31: 1-4 (warnings against trusting in Egypt) and 29: 1-8 (the impending fate of Jerusalem). Over against each warning is placed a word of promise, which cannot be dated with any certainty. 28-33.

The Messages of Micah, c. 722-701.

1. The superscription of the editor. 1: 1.
2. The sad and certain doom of Samaria and Judah. 1: 2-9.
3. The army of conquest advancing from the seacoast to Jerusalem, a series of remarkable paranomasias. 1: 10-16.
4. The grasping, unscrupulous rich Judeans will suffer deserved exile. 2: 1-11.
5. Judah's leaders are so hopelessly corrupt that judgment is sure. 3: 1-12.

(287.) By what striking symbolism did Isaiah prevent the people of Judah from making an alliance with Egypt in 711 B.C.? (Isa. 20: 1-6.) Who was then on Judah's throne? (II Ki. 18: 1.) What was his religious attitude? (18: 3-6.) What showed his vigor as a ruler? (20: 20.) How did the embassy of Merodach-baladan affect him? (20: 12-15.) What was Isaiah's opinion? (20: 16-19.) Why were the Judeans peculiarly restive about 705 B.C. and desirous of making a coalition with Egypt? What was Isaiah's opinion of the policy of alliance (30: 1-3; 31: 1-3) and of Egypt as an ally? (30: 7.) What social wrongs did Micah attack? (Mi. 2, 3.) On what ground did he predict the destruction of the

two great Israelitish cities? (Mi. 1:3-7; 3:9-12.) On whose behalf did Micah speak?

(288.) **The Early Reign of Hezekiah.** Hezekiah came to the throne of Judah certainly not later than 715 B.C.* He inherited a social situation which Micah condemns unsparingly. He entered vigorously into his royal duties. The Chronicler dates many religious reforms (II Chr. 29) in his first year, but the question whether the reforms mentioned in II Ki. 18:4 were in the beginning or at the end of his reign is unsettled; 18:22 seems to show that something was done. Hezekiah was a noble prince. He may have been under Isaiah's influence during his boyhood, since the prophet had much influence over him as a king. He was a farsighted sovereign. He strengthened Jerusalem (20:20), so as to prepare his country for war. During the last years of Sargon there was a growing restlessness throughout Palestine. A new Ethiopian dynasty had arisen in Egypt, which made many promises of help to the little states of Palestine. The annual tribute to Assyria was a great burden. Babylonia had made herself independent of Assyria since 721 B.C. In 711 B.C. the Philistine cities of Ashdod and Gath did rebel. Isaiah wisely prevented the people of Judah from this rashness (Isa. 20:1-6) by walking the streets for months in the garb of a captive.

(289.) **Micah's Denunciation of Judah's Leaders.** At some time in this period the peasant prophet Micah must have delivered the vigorous messages found in chapters 1-3. Criticism tends to attribute to him only these chapters in the book which bears his name. It is clear that the other chapters contain some material of a later date than the probable life of Micah, but they also express ideas which seem entirely congruous with an age of such glorious idealism as that of Hezekiah. The first three chapters use the fall of Samaria, either imminent or already a fact (1:6) as an impressive warning to Judah

*According to II Ki. 18:10 his first regnal year was 727 B.C.; according to II Ki. 18:13 his first regnal year was 715 B.C. It seems impossible to decide absolutely between these estimates.

(1:9). The prophet uses a remarkable series of plays upon the names of villages on the way to express the certainty of the invasion of an army up from the Philistine plain through the western passes to Jerusalem (1:10-16). He then lays bare the flagrant social crimes of the rich and powerful. They were like cannibals in their greed (3:2, 3). He denounced the mercenary prophets (3:5), to whom Jehovah gives no message (3:6-8), and other self-seeking leaders (3:9-11), and declared that both Jerusalem and its temple would be destroyed (3:12). That Micah's words deeply impressed the nation is indicated by Jeremiah 26.

(290.) **The New Assyrian King, Sennacherib.** Sargon died in 705 B.C. and was succeeded by his son, Sennacherib, a man of iron and blood. His reign of twenty-five years (705-680 B.C.) was chiefly distinguished by his operations against Babylonia, which he crushed, and against Palestine.

(291.) **The Great Palestinian Revolt of 703 B.C.** When Sargon died the nations subject to Assyria could not resist the temptation to revolt. Merodach-baladan, whom Sargon had expelled from Babylonia in 710 B.C., began another revolution in that country and sent emissaries to Palestine to stir up disaffection (Isa. 39). Tyre, Edom, Moab, Ammon, several Philistine cities and certain Arab tribes made a coalition into which Judah, despite Isaiah's opposition, was drawn.

(292.) **Isaiah's Vain Protests.** Some of the finest prophecies of Isaiah were delivered in the vain attempt to prevent Judah from taking this step. A strong party trusted in the promises of aid which Egypt was making, and was in favor of revolting. Isaiah declared that Egypt was a land of ample promises and slender performances, " Madame Brag and Stay-at-Home " (30:7). It was far wiser to trust in Jehovah than in Egypt's cavalry (31:1-3). Judah's security depended wholly upon her trust in Him (30:8-16), not at all on diplomacy or alliances. These pleadings had little effect.

5. The Invasion of Palestine by Sennacherib and the Deliverance of Jerusalem (Isaiah 1: 2-26; 10: 5-34; 17: 12-14; 18: 1-7; 22; 29-33 *passim;* II Kings 18: 13 to 19: 37; Micah 4: 1 to 7: 6.)

(293.) These passages describe the events and emotions of this great crisis, and the closing years of Hezekiah's reign.

Isaiah's Prophecies from 701 B.C. onward.

9. Judah's distress due to her sins. 1: 2-26.
10. Jerusalem's unpardonable frivolity. 22: 1-14.
11. The Assyrian only the tool of Jehovah. 10: 5-15.
12. His arrogance an assurance of his downfall. 10: 16-34.
13. Jehovah's purpose is world-wide. 14: 24-27.
14. The destruction of the Assyrian will be sudden. 17: 12-14; 18: 1-7.
15. Jerusalem shall be inviolate. 33.
16. The character and reign of the future king. 11: 1-9; 32: 1-8, 15-20.
17. A group of tender promises of the later days, which, if Isaiah's, belongs to the end of his life. 28-33 *passim.*

Prophecies which may come from Micah's Later Life.

6. Jerusalem to be the teaching center of the world. 4: 1-5.
7. [Predictions of the triumphant future of the Hebrew race, restored from exile. 4: 6 to 5: 15.]
8. The true definition of religion. 6: 1-8.
9. Judah is as wicked as northern Israel was. 6: 9-16.
10. Godly men are scarce; every one is faithless. 7: 1-6.
11. [Exiled Judah's contrition and hope for deliverance. 7: 7-20.]

(294.) As a result of the revolt in Palestine what did Sennacherib do? (II Ki. 18: 13.) To what condition did he reduce Judah? (Isa. 1: 7-9. Compare 22: 5-11.) What did Hezekiah do? (II Ki. 18: 14-15.) What insolent summons did Sennacherib send by his Rabshakeh from Lachish? (18: 17-37.) What was Isaiah's advice regarding the answer? (19: 1-8.) What later demand for Jerusalem's surrender was made by letter? (19: 9-13.) What did Hezekiah do with the letter? (19:14-19.) What was Isaiah's prophetic answer? (19: 20, 32-34.) What did Isaiah think about the haughty Assyrian (II Ki. 19: 21-31; Isa. 10: 5-34; 14: 24-27) and about Jerusalem? (Isa. 37: 35; 28: 16; 31: 5; 33: 20.) What sudden calamity forced Sennacherib to return to Nineveh? (II Ki. 19: 35, 36.) What thoroughgoing reforms did Hezekiah probably make in the years that followed? (II Chron. 29-31 *passim.*) What words of Isaiah and

Micah may be assigned to the last few years of Hezekiah's reign? (See above.)

(295.) **Sennacherib's First Campaign.** Sennacherib was unable in 703 B.C. to discipline all of his revolting vassals at once. He first campaigned against Babylonia, then against Media, and finally, in 701 B.C., was ready to deal with Palestine and Phoenicia. He promptly crushed the Phoenician opposition, but the Palestinian alliance (§ 291) confronted him. He marched down the seacoast, capturing Ashkelon and Ekron and their regions. Then he defeated at Eltekeh the southern army which was marching to the aid of the allies. Moab, Edom and Ammon promptly submitted, so he turned his attention to Jerusalem.

(296.) **His Occupation of Judah and Hezekiah's Submission.** Instead of directly attacking Jerusalem, Sennacherib's army ravaged Judah (Isa. 1: 7-8) and blockaded the city, shutting up Hezekiah, to use the language of the inscription, "like a bird in a cage." This brought Hezekiah to terms. He surrendered and paid a heavy, humiliating tribute (II Ki. 18: 13-16).

(297.) **Sennacherib's Fresh Demand and its Rejection.** It is clear that the passage II Kings 18: 17 to 19: 37 represents two distinguishable narratives. The first (18: 17 to 19: 8) relates a demand from Sennacherib for the surrender of Jerusalem which was rejected by Hezekiah. The second describes a later demand, couched in similar terms, and received with the same confident declaration by Isaiah that Jehovah would defend his city. Scholars differ widely in their explanation of these demands. Some think that both demands were made in 701 B.C.; some that the first demand was made in 701 and the second nearly twelve years later, when there is good evidence that Sennacherib made a second expedition to the Westland. Still others think that both demands are to be dated in connection with the second expedition and regarded as duplicate versions of the same story. To decide between these views is not really necessary. It is certain that Sennacherib after

Hezekiah's submission tried at least once again to compel Jerusalem to surrender. It is probable that this happened about 689 B.C., when Sennacherib made a second campaign to southern Palestine. It is sure that Isaiah declared again that Jehovah would protect his city, the altar-hearth of true religion, the needful home of the Remnant, Jehovah's inviolable sanctuary.*

(298.) **The Great Deliverance.** In 691 or 690 B.C. Tirhakah (II Ki. 19: 9) ascended the throne of Egypt. He was a formidable foe, capable of making much trouble for Assyria in the west. Sennacherib marched against him, making an attempt on the way to get Jerusalem under his control. Before the Assyrian army met the Egyptians it was stricken by a pestilence which frightened Sennacherib and sent him ingloriously home. A few years later, in 681, he was murdered (II Ki. 19: 35-37). This sudden deliverance of Jerusalem seemed nothing short of miraculous. Zion's holiness was vindicated, and Isaiah's prediction that Jehovah would put forth His hand to save His people and His city was fulfilled.

(299.) **The Great Reformation.** The thoroughgoing reformation in Hezekiah's day, implied not only by the Chronicler but by II Kings 18: 4, especially the removal of the high places, would have been aided by the desecrating ravages of the Assyrian soldiery in 701 B.C. and by the demonstration of the inviolableness of Jerusalem in 689 B.C. It aimed, religiously, to centralize all worship at Jerusalem and socially, as Professor Kent has pointed out, to correct the glaring social abuses which were so contrary to prophetic ideals. Something had been done by Hezekiah earlier than 701 B.C. (Isa. 36: 7), but probably the completion of these reforms may be credited to the last years of Hezekiah's reign.

(300.) **Prophecies of Isaiah and Micah about the Future.** Chapters 28-33 of the book of Isaiah and chapters 4-7 of the book of Micah include several passages which differ markedly in tone and temper from the declarations of doom with which they are associated. Such contrasting passages can hardly be contemporaneous

*For Western Asia as Sennacherib left it see the map facing page 138.

Their juxtaposition may be due to editorial love of contrast. Many students declare them to be exilic in date. The alternative is to regard them as dating late in Isaiah's life.

The fourth and fifth chapters of Micah contain a series of interesting visions of the future of the Hebrew race after exile. Such passages, however, as 4: 1-5, 11-13; 5: 1-5*a* may belong to Micah's time.

(301.) **The Prophet Isaiah.** For not less than forty years and perhaps for more than half a century the prophet Isaiah was a familiar and commanding figure in Jerusalem. He was characteristically a citizen, just as Amos was a farmer. He was an aristocrat, a representative of the finely educated classes, one whose range of thinking was comprehensive and constructive. He was in full sympathy with what Amos and Hosea had said, but added the ideas which were complemental. Their declarations implied the greatness and glory of Jehovah, but he spoke of Jehovah of Hosts exalted and holy with His world-plan. Hosea emphasized the love of Jehovah which made His judgments redemptive in purpose, but Isaiah added the supplemental ideas of the Remnant, of its Leader, of Jehovah's majestic purpose unfolding in human history and of Jerusalem as the precious working center of His plans. Isaiah had the organizing or theological mind. He was also a gifted statesman and reformer, farsighted, eloquent, a master of expression. His writings abound in passages of remarkable force and beauty, such as 2: 12-17; 5: 26-29; 10: 5-15; 11: 1-9, etc., but his power was due to his straightforward, unquestioning faith in Jehovah and His good purpose (7: 9; 28: 16; 30: 15).

(302.) **The Last Days of Hezekiah and Isaiah.** Nothing is definitely known concerning the concluding years of Hezekiah's reign. The land was recuperating from the frightful losses of Sennacherib's first campaign, and the people were probably loyal and grateful over the services of the king and his great prophet at the subse-

quent deliverance. A great and sudden change, however, was right ahead.

(303.) **Micah's Summary of Eighth Century Prophecy.** The passage, Micah 6:1 to 7:6, dated by many scholars in the later life of Micah during the early years of Manasseh's reign over Judah, concludes appropriately the prophetic thinking of the preceding half century. The conclusion of the dramatic dialogue between Jehovah and His people regarding what was due to Him is the remarkable saying of 6:8, which summarizes the vital messages of Amos, Hosea and Isaiah into a simple but noble declaration of religious duty.

(304.) **The Four Prophets of the Half Century.** The significance of the work of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah and thus of the half century during which they labored is not easily overstated. Each contributed in his own way his peculiar share toward a revolutionizing of the religious ideals of the age. Affirming that Jehovah was distinctively a moral Being to be described in terms of character as righteous, holy, loving and wise, they declared that He was the sovereign Ruler of the universe. Even invincible Assyria was His tool. The Hebrews were His covenanted people, but that implied their loyalty to His ideals, which their unsound social, economic and religious life prevented. To awaken their consciences Jehovah was forced to send upon them sweeping judgments, using the Assyrians as His agent. But the judgments, being redemptive, not punitive, would at some future time result in a new Israel, a purified Remnant, led by a wise, fine leader. Then Jerusalem would become a center of world benefit.

Four great ideas underlie the spiritual religion of the Old Testament: (1) Jehovah the holy, just, loving Ruler of the world; (2) man in loving fellowship with Him; (3) the moral and spiritual demands of this relationship, and (4) the future Kingdom exhibiting true social righteousness. These prophets made great progress toward the expression of these ideas. Ethically they left little to be said, but they were strongly nationalistic.

Jehovah's presence and the benefits of worsnip were confined to His land and people and abiding-place. The real missionary idea had not yet taken hold of the Hebrew mind. Again they looked at the future in terms of a new nation which would live in Palestine. It also took another century to establish the principle of personal responsibility.

XI.

THE HALF CENTURY OF REACTION UNDER MANASSEH: ASSYRIA JUDAH'S UNDISPUTED MISTRESS. About 686-641 B.C. (SECOND KINGS 21; SECOND CHRONICLES 33)

(305.) The half century following the reign of Hezekiah witnessed a great overturning of the religious conditions which he and Isaiah had established. Assyria enlarged her greatness by making the conquest of Egypt. No great nation remained to dispute her imperial purpose. Little Judah was her acknowledged vassal, and came willingly under her influence in matters pertaining to religion and culture. This influence was not wholly evil. It gave Judah a close contact with the ripest culture of the age, and fertilized the popular mind. The half century was peaceful and prosperous, but religiously decadent. Manasseh, the young king, sanctioned not merely the introduction of Assyrian star worship into Jerusalem but also the revival of Canaanitish idolatry. Both were so thoroughly adopted by the people that Ezekiel, a century later, described these rites as prevailing in Jerusalem. Moreover, Manasseh sternly repressed Jehovah worship.

The length of Manasseh's reign is given as fifty-five years (II Ki. 21: 1). Josiah's reign, however, began quite certainly in 639 B.C. This places the end of Manasseh's reign in 641 B.C. How to find the other ten years is a puzzle in Biblical chronology.

The record of Manasseh's reign is quite unsatisfactory. It is entirely from the pen of the editor. Jeremiah, however, felt quite as the editor did about the king (Jer. 15: 4). The historical details given by the Chronicler are not improbable, but lack clear confirmation.

1. The Religious Reaction of Manasseh's Reign. (II Kings 21; II Chron. 33; 10-20; Micah 6: 9 to 7: 6.)

(306.) These chapters describe the events of Manasseh's long reign and his relations with Assyria.

How old was Manasseh when he came to the throne? (II Ki. 21: 1.) What religious changes did he support? (21: 2-9.) What threats did the prophets make? (21: 10-15.) Whose innocent blood did Manasseh shed? 21: 16; 24: 4; Jer. 2: 30.) According to the Chronicler what calamities did he suffer? (II Chron. 33: 11.) What changes did he make at Jerusalem? (33: 14.)

(307.) **The Outside World in the First Half of the Seventh Century.** When Manasseh was seventeen years old, Sennacherib was murdered (§ 298) in his own capital by his sons, and was succeeded, after several months of civil war, by the rightful heir, Esarhaddon. The new king was quite the opposite of his father. He was energetic and persistent, yet generous. He voluntarily restored Babylonia to her former position of reasonable independence. He added Arabia and Egypt to his dominions. He faced the invading Cimmerians, and diverted them from his realm, whereupon they conquered Cappadocia and settled there. He colonized Samaria (Ezra 4: 2). He must be ranked high among the rulers of the Assyrian empire. In his days, however, one ominous event took place. The Medes had settled during the preceding century in the mountains northeast of Assyria and beyond Elam. They had given Assyria little trouble, but could not be driven away. In Esarhaddon's time a new horde, closely related to the Medes, had swept down from the northern shores of the Black Sea and settled among the Medes and in the northeastern provinces of the empire. Within a century these combined peoples were to become extremely formidable.

In 668 B.C. Esarhaddon was succeeded by his son, Ashurbanipal, who had a long and brilliant reign of forty-two years. He retained outward control of his vast empire, but with many indications that the grip of

earlier days was weakening. He was the last real world ruler of his race. He is the "Osnapper" of Ezra 4:9, 10.*

(308.) **The Reign of Manasseh in Judah.** Manasseh's long reign was marked by two great religious changes, a return to the Canaanitish idolatry of earlier times and a hospitality to Assyrian religious customs. He was influenced to make the first change by the palace women and by the strong anti-prophetic party in Jerusalem. He made the second as a loyal vassal, introducing the worship of the "host of heaven" into the very courts of the Temple. It became so popular that it was practised on the housetops (Jer. 19: 13; Zeph. 1: 5).

Manasseh is mentioned by Esarhaddon as a tributary in 676 B.C. and by Ashurbanipal as one who helped him in his first campaign against Egypt in 668 B.C. He may have participated in a revolt and been punished by a temporary exile in Babylon, but no record of it is known.

Four good results followed his loyalty to Assyria: (1) Judah had a much needed opportunity for peaceful recruiting; (2) the trade of Jerusalem improved through the increased commerce within the empire which now included western Asia and Egypt; (3) a strong impulse to culture was given, especially in the days of Ashurbanipal; and (4) the Babylonian calendar was probably adopted by the Hebrews in place of their own cumbrous system of dating (Ex. 34: 22).

(309.) **The Religious Changes.** The anti-prophetic reaction is not hard to understand. The prophets, Isaiah and Micah, had not hesitated to denounce the monopolists and grafters and the religious formalists of their day, and, with Hezekiah's aid, to institute sweeping social and religious reforms. At least a generation was needed for the complete establishment of such innovations. With the quick succession of the very young Manasseh the believers in religious institutions and ceremonies and the conservatively minded and the religious grafters and the social monopolists had a chance

* For his empire see the map facing page 138.

to restore the conditions in which they delighted. A bitter conflict was inevitable. The prophets could not keep silence (21: 10-13), but now their speech was treasonable. Their blood flowed freely (21: 16), but they were driven into seclusion. This forced them to find new ways of promoting their ideals.

(310.) **The Literary Work of the Age.** Such references as Proverbs 25: 1 remind us that the whole century including the reign of Hezekiah was a period of possible literary activity, how extended we can only conjecture. The enforced retirement of Jehovah's adherents in Manasseh's reign probably gave an impulse to such productiveness. The prophetic sermons of the four great prophets of the eighth century were collected, edited, and reproduced. Not improbably the two great histories of the Hebrew people in current use (" J " and " E," see §§ 244, 264) were combined about this time into one continuous narrative (" JE "). This made a new and larger " Bible," preserving all that was most characteristic and valuable in each of these noble works, so dear to the religious heart of Israel.

The motive for the undertaking of such a task by a prophet of Judah is readily conjectured. Quite probably also the important revision and expansion of the ancient Covenant code (§ 125) into a new " book of the law " which interpreted the covenant obligations in the clearer light of the prophetic principles of Amos and Isaiah was executed during these days. If all these activities took place, the reign of Manasseh was of great importance in the history of Israelitish growth.

XII.

THE REFORM UNDER JOSIAH AND HIS PROPHETIC ASSOCIATES. 639-608 B.C.

(SECOND KINGS 22:1 TO 23:27; SECOND CHRONICLES 34, 35; ZEPHANIAH; JEREMIAH 1-6; DEUTERONOMY.)

(311.) The thirty years following the reigns of Manasseh and Amon were significant years for Judah. Once

more the prophetic party held the friendship and support of the king and thus an ascendancy in the national life. Under the leadership of Zephaniah, Jeremiah and others, a strong program of reform was initiated and executed. Persistent evils were abated, the Temple was repaired, Judah's worship was officially centralized at Jerusalem and the Temple, and the principles which the prophets of the preceding century had laid down were expressed for popular guidance in the form of reformulated statutes. So long as Josiah lived the nation seemed to be transformed. Josiah's death revealed the eternal fact that a reformation of ordinances does not convert a nation. There was a sharp reaction. Nevertheless the work of Josiah and his lieutenants left an ineffaceable stamp upon the nation.

1. The Early Years of Josiah's Reign; Zephaniah's Announcement of Jehovah's "Day." 639-625 B.C. (II Ki. 22: 1, 2; II Chron. 34: 1-7; Zephaniah.)

(312.) This material brings the student face to face with new conditions in Judah and in the outside world.

Zephaniah's Message about Jehovah's "Day."

1. The superscription. 1: 1.
2. A day of doom approaching Judah and Jerusalem. 1: 2-6.
3. The terrors of Jehovah's "Day." 1: 7-18.
4. A day of doom upon Philistia. 2: 1-7.
5. Jehovah's vengeance upon Moab and Ammon. 2: 8-11.
6. The doom of Ethiopia and Assyria. 2: 12-15.
7. Jerusalem's sin and Jehovah's righteousness. 3: 1-7.
8. After purification Jerusalem will be delivered. 3: 8-13.
9. [The world-wide renown of redeemed Israel. 3: 14-20.]

Who was the new king of Judah? (II Ki. 22: 1.) How did he come to the throne? (21: 5.) At what age did he begin to show a definite interest in the betterment of his kingdom? (II Chron. 34: 24.) At what age did he begin to think of needed reforms? (34: 3.) What prophet delivered his message in this early part of Josiah's reign? (Zeph. 1: 1.) How did he describe existing religious conditions? (1: 4-6, 17; 3: 4, 13.) What did he have to say about the social situation? (1: 8, 9, 12;

3:3.) What did he predict? (1:7, 14; 3:8.) What was to happen on "that day"? (1:15-18.) Which seems more characteristic in Zephaniah, doom or hope?

(313.) **Ashurbanipal's Closing Years.** Ashurbanipal's many campaigns, especially those against Babylonia, Elam, Egypt and the northern hordes, drained Assyria of blood and treasure. To the very last, however, he maintained his hold upon his empire. But the desperate struggles of the dozen years preceding 640 B.C. were won at terrible cost. Of the years which were contemporaneous with Josiah we know comparatively little in detail. They were quite certainly spent at Nineveh and filled with the activities of peace in which the cultured monarch took great delight, — the erection of magnificent buildings and the collection of a remarkable library. For the farsighted among his loyal courtiers they must have been years of growing anxiety. Assyria's real power was rapidly being curtailed and her pride rebuked. It was becoming evident that the days of the great empire were numbered, unless Ashurbanipal should have a greater successor.

(314.) **The Scythian Advance.** New peoples were thrusting themselves into western Asia. According to Herodotus the Scythians, a fierce and warlike people, came pouring at this time out of the distant north into the Assyrian empire, sweeping every obstacle out of their pathway. It was like an invasion of Europe by hordes of Tartars. They could not endanger well fortified cities or threaten well-defended Assyria proper, but they ravaged the lands through which they wandered. They followed down the coast through Palestine almost to the very border of Egypt, but Psamtik I, a new and very able ruler of Egypt, bought or drove them off and delivered his land. The horde seems to have left Jerusalem untouched both on the way down and on the return. This seems quite probable to one who knows Palestinian topography and recalls the consuming desire of the invaders for easy plunder. They constituted, however, a very real menace, and their invasion seems to

be echoed in Zephaniah and in Jeremiah 4-6. As an organized aggressive force they gradually disintegrated, but not until they had made evident the weakness of the Assyrian empire.

(315.) **The Early Reign of Josiah.** During the first half of Josiah's reign Judah was undisturbed by Assyria. The nation probably paid its tribute regularly. The young king was growing from childhood to maturity. He was evidently in sympathy with the prophetical party and under the influence of its leaders. The Chronicler records his very definite acceptance of their principles in his sixteenth year. He may have taken a place of leadership then. The record also states that when twenty years old (about 627 B.C.) he began a work of reform. In view of the definite statements of the book of Kings, which places the removal of the high places and images after the discovery of the book of the law in the twenty-sixth year of his age and eighteenth of his reign, this prior reformation must be rated as tentative.

(316.) **Zephaniah's Declaration of Doom for Impenitents.** Just at the end of this period, about 626 B.C., the prophet Zephaniah, speaking primarily for Judah and Jerusalem, declared that Jehovah was about to punish defiant iniquity everywhere, even the wicked pride of Assyria. His " Day " would be a day of reckoning. No longer would He endure the idolatry and skepticism of His own people. In His wrath He was preparing a solemn banquet whose guests would be the unnamed northerners. A few repentant ones only would be saved, the humble and righteous (2: 1-3; 3: 11-13). It was an austere message, combating the social and religious evils which had eaten the heart out of Israel's life (1: 12). Like a Puritan, Zephaniah recognizes only moral values.

Verses 8-10 and 14-20 of chapter three, describing the conversion of the heathen and the joy of the returned exiles, refer to later times and may represent a later addition to the original predictions of Zephaniah in these early days.

2. Jeremiah's Summons to Prophetic Duty: His Early Sermons. 626-621 B.C. (Jeremiah 1-6.)

(317.) These chapters describe Jeremiah's call and his early prophetic activity.

Jeremiah's Early Sermons

1. Jeremiah's vision and summons at Anathoth. 1.
2. The verdict on Israel's heathenish history. 2: 1 to 4: 4.
3. The judgment of Jehovah through the northern foe. 4: 5 to 6: 29.

Where was the prophet Jeremiah born? (Jer. 1: 1.) When did he begin his prophetic work? (1: 1.) What priestly blood probably ran in his veins? (I Ki. 2: 26.) What was his attitude with reference to the work of a prophet? (Jer. 1: 4-6.) In what two ways did he receive encouragement? (1: 7-10.) What two emblems did he see and what did they mean? (1: 11-15.) What sort of a prophetic life was he to expect? (1: 18, 19.) Under what figures did Jeremiah illustrate God's tender care for His people and their unresponsiveness? (2: 2, 13, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26; 3: 4.) What strong appeal did he make, again and again? (3: 12-15, 22; 4: 1-4.) How did he describe existing religious conditions? (1: 16; 2: 18, 28, 30; 3: 13; 4: 1.) What judgment did he foresee? (4: 7, 13, 29; 5: 15-18; 6: 1, 6, 22-26.)

(318.) **The Book of Jeremiah.** The book of Jeremiah is chronologically in great disorder and topically not clearly arranged. According to Jer. 36: 2-4 Baruch, at Jeremiah's dictation, wrote down the prophecies which had been delivered by Jeremiah up to that date, during twenty-two years. Later on Baruch rewrote these same prophecies and added to them. (36: 32.) The first edition probably included chs. 2-9 and perhaps chs. 2-12. The second edition may have included the chapters (with some later additions) as far as ch. 20, ch. 25 and the introductory chapter. All the rest of the book of Jeremiah is of later date, belonging to the reigns of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah and to the exilic period. A few representative passages of each epoch will be considered. They furnish a vivid, first-hand story of the inner and outer struggles incident to the nation's downfall. The

" Book of Consolation " (30-33) which dates from the second siege of Jerusalem is generally counted as including the finest exhibit of Jeremiah's thinking.

(319.) **Jeremiah's Call.** It was about 625 B.C. that Jeremiah became conscious that God had destined him to be a prophet. (Jer. 1: 2.) His active ministry lasted more than forty years, so he must have been in the full vigor of young manhood. He hesitated in view of the stupendous difficulty of the task, but God encouraged him with two visions, the blossoming almond, symbolic of Divine watchfulness, and the huge caldron in the north ready to spill its seething contents over the land, a symbol of the fiery flood of war with which Jehovah would make good the judgments against his apostate people. The picture was not attractive to a man of Jeremiah's temperament, but Jehovah declared that amidst all opposition he would be perfectly secure (Jer. 1: 18). Yet he became a prophet almost against his will.

(320.) **His Early Sermons.** Jeremiah plunged into his work without delay. Chapters 2-6 represent his activity for the first five years (626-621 B.C.). They are, of course, a condensation, reproduced from memory (§ 318), of what Jeremiah actually preached during these years, merely the substance of it. They recall the messages of Amos and Isaiah and especially of Hosea. The young prophet was an earnest student of his great predecessors, and quite as vigorous. Judah, he declared, was worse than Israel had been. Jerusalem was hopelessly corrupt, leaders and all. Divine judgment seemed imminent. Such preaching must have helped greatly to quicken the public conscience.

3. The Decision of King Josiah to Repair the Temple and the Discovery of the Book of the Law. 621 B.C.

(II Kings 22: 3 to 23: 3; II Chron. 34: 8-32.)

(321.) These passages describe the repair of the Temple, the discovery of the " book of the law," and the remarkable impression it aroused.

How old was Josiah when he gave orders to have the Temple repaired? (22: 1, 3.) What directions did he give to the royal secretary? (22: 4-6.) In what fine spirit was the work done? (22: 7.) What discovery was made? (22: 8.) What effect did the knowledge of it have upon the king? (22: 10, 11, 13.) Whom did the king consult regarding its authenticity? (22: 14.) What was her twofold reply? (22: 15-20.) What did the king proceed to do? (23: 1, 2.) What solemn covenant did he and the people make? (23: 3.) What slight changes did the Chronicler make in this account, which he took probably from Kings? (Compare II Chron. 34: 9, 11-13, 31 and 32 with II Ki. 22: 4, 6 and 23: 3.)

(322.) **Various Factors Promoting Reform.** In addition to the direct effect of the vigorous prophesying of Zephaniah and Jeremiah and the concurrence of King Josiah, it is interesting to notice three other factors. The death of Ashurbanipal in 626-5 B.C. and the accession of a feeble successor gave a freedom of religious action in Judah unknown for decades. The faithful prophetic partisans who had endured for long years a fiery persecution must have been among those who heartily supported each movement made by the young king. To all these must be added Hilkiah the priest and the officers of Josiah's court, whose friendly influence continued to be exerted even in darker days.

(323.) **The Discovery of the Lawbook in the Temple.** The prosecution of the repairs upon the Temple which Josiah ordered led to the discovery of a book of law, which was short enough to be read aloud easily, which evidently contained exhortations, warnings, threats and promises as well as laws. It was taken to the king and read by him. Having had it confirmed by the prophetess Huldah, Josiah had it publicly read, after which, with due ceremonies and as representing the people who were acquiescent, he made a covenant before God to keep its words.

(324.) **This Lawbook was Deuteronomy.** Without doubt the book which formed the basis of this national covenant was the original Deuteronomy. It was called by the very names which are used in Deuteronomy. The temper of that book and its requirements correspond closely to the effect this book produced and to the reforms which were immediately carried through. No other early code requires the removal of the high places of the land and the centralization of all proper worship at the Temple. Whether it had been laid away for safe keeping and forgotten and why Josiah was wholly unacquainted with it are questions to which varying answers are given. The most probable view of the origin of the book makes it the product of the activity of the previous century (§ 310).

(325.) **Deuteronomy a Reformulation of Older Law and Narrative.** The book of Deuteronomy puts into concrete regulations the prophetic ideals of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah. It is an appeal to the popular conscience, providing definite regulations for adoption. An unusual book, it has had an extraordinary influence. Its history (1-3) is a repetition of the prophetic history, JE; its law is a restatement of the provisions of the early Covenant code (§ 125) with changes and additions which made it give clear expression to a monotheistic conception of Jehovah (Deut. 4: 32-40; 6: 1-15; 10: 12 to 11: 1) and to a noble view of history (8: 1-19; 11: 2-12) and gave it a far more detailed and friendly application to daily, personal and social life, inculcating the idea that religion must be carefully studied, discussed and taught. Its ordinances made one fundamental change in Judah's religious customs. Deuteronomy centralized all sacrificial worship at the Temple in Jerusalem, evidently as a means of promoting the establishment of prophetic ideals. The book is definitely attributed to Moses. This is true in the sense that the original, basic material was Mosaic. The work must have been done in the century preceding Josiah.

(326.) **The Historical Influence of Deuteronomy on Other Literature.** Cornill declared Deuteronomy to be the most influential book ever written. It shaped and standardized religious thought and practise, but it also furnished a religious vocabulary and point of view, which every student of the Bible recognizes at a glance. During the century following Josiah's reformation a school of thinkers and writers grew up who were interested to interpret the records of earlier ages for the sake of pointing out the errors made and the obvious reforms which were necessary. This Deuteronomic school produced the main portion of the Book of Judges in the form familiar to us, furnishing the interpretative framework (§ 139). They made certain readily recognized additions to the JE narrative of the Conquest (Joshua 1: 1-9; 3: 7, 10*b*; 4: 14; 5: 1; 8: 30-35; 10: 40-42; 11: 14-23; 21: 43-45; 23: 9,14*b*; 24: 11*b*, 13) which idealize, or at least, generalize the records. They made relatively slight additions to the books of Samuel, and set themselves to the glorious task of compiling a similar history of the Hebrew people from the days of Solomon, which resulted in the books of Kings. The framework of the story of each reign, already noted (§ 228) was their contribution. The men of this Deuteronomic school were intensely in earnest. They converted folk-tales into historical literature illustrative of the out-working of the Divine purpose in past history. With their day the primitive elements in Israelitish thinking wholly disappear.

4. The Great Reformation. 621 B.C.
(II Kings 23: 4-27; II Chron. 34: 33 to 35: 19)

(327.) These passages describe the steps which were taken to carry out the provisions of the Deuteronomic law in Judah.

What was the initial step of reform? (II Ki. 23: 4-7.) What was done with the " high places " or village shrines? (23: 8.) What became of their priests? (23: 8, 9.) What further measures were taken? (23: 10-14, 24.) What especially famous shrine was destroyed? (23: 15-

16.) How was the completion of the reform movement signalized? (23: 21-24; II Chron. 35.)

(328.) **The Sweeping Reforms.** Omitting minor details it is clear that the Temple, Jerusalem and the suburbs were cleansed of the altars and symbols of the older Canaanite and newer Assyrian worship and that within the limits of Judah, — from Geba to Beersheba, — the high places in the villages were defiled and their priesthood brought to Jerusalem, where alone sacrifices and festivals were to be held. The work of centralization was final. The Temple became the only recognized abode of Jehovah worship. Never before had this been true. It was a great help to monotheism.

(329.) **The Remainder of Josiah's Reign.** The decade or more that followed the great reformation was a period of happiness and prosperity. The nation increased steadily in population, wealth and strength. It obeyed the new law, whether contentedly or not. A brief passage in Jeremiah (11: 1-8) implies that he assisted in urging upon the people its faithful observance. Certain hints in the record indicate that Josiah's authority extended beyond Geba or even Bethel into the old territory of the northern kingdom. The weakening of the Assyrian empire made this possible. Josiah seems to have considerably enlarged his boundaries. At all events he was a strong, patriotic, high-minded ruler.

(330.) **The Silence of Jeremiah.** From the days preceding the discovery of the Deuteronomic lawbook until the days of Jehoiakim, the successor of Josiah, there is no sure* record of Jeremiah's prophetic activity. Either he kept aloof, or did not care to include in the book which he dictated to Baruch any memoranda of this period. Perhaps we are justified in thinking that he was gradually disillusioned, coming to realize the temporary character of a reform based upon ordinances, however excellent, and not necessarily affecting the heart.

* Professor Kent in StOTiii, 186-190, presents strong arguments for 3: 6-16 and 31: 2-30 as belonging to the latter part of Josiah's reign.

XIII.

THE RAPID DECLINE OF JUDAH. (608-586 B.C.) (II KINGS 23: 28 TO 25:30; NAHUM; JEREMIAH; HABAKKUK; EZEKIEL 1-24.)

(331.) The peaceful and prosperous reign of Josiah was brought to a sudden and tragic close by the death of Josiah on the field of battle in 608 B.C. His promising son, Jehoahaz, who succeeded him, was dethroned by Pharaoh Necho, who, by right of conquest, was Judah's lord paramount. Necho placed on the throne of Judah a brother, Jehoiakim, a prince who was in most respects the opposite of his father. His reign of eleven years witnessed the crushing of Necho's aspirations toward Asiatic leadership, the passing of Assyria, and the rise of Chaldea to supremacy in Mesopotamia and the west. In his day and through his influence there was a sharp reaction away from Deuteronomic ideals and a re-establishment of popular idolatry. Jeremiah saw that the collapse of the state and the destruction of the city was inevitable. The expression of his views gave him a living martyrdom for twenty years. The story of the reigns of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, told briefly in the book of Second Kings but in graphic detail through the words of Jeremiah, is a narrative of steady decline and impending disaster for the nation, but of growing clearness of vision for the prophet. There are few questions regarding the dates of the principal events. The adjustment of Jeremiah's prophecies and of the predictions of Nahum and Habakkuk is exact enough for all practical purposes.

1. Josiah's Tragic Death and the Accession of Jehoiakim. Nahum's Anticipation of the Fall of Nineveh. 608-605 B.C.

(II Kings 23: 28-37; Nahum; Jeremiah 7-17, 19, 20, 26, 36.)

(332.) This section describes the death of Josiah at Megiddo, the deposition of his successor by Necho, the early reign of Jehoiakim, the exulting cry of Nahum, and the distressed situation of Jeremiah.

The Prophecy of Nahum.

1. Jehovah's nature a pledge of His certain vengeance on the wicked. 1: 1-15; 2: 2.
2. The capture and plunder of the lion's lair. 2: 1, 3-13.
3. Nineveh's unlamented fall absolutely certain. 3: 1-19.

The Prophecies of Jeremiah during the Early Years of Jehoiakim. (Prior to 605 B.C.)

4. The plot at Anathoth against Jeremiah and his tragic personal problem. 11: 9 to 12: 6.
5. The lesson from the potter: Jehovah can shape a willing people. 18.
6. The Temple address: the Temple and Jerusalem are doomed because of Judah's flagrant wickedness. 26; 7: 1 to 8: 3.
7. The inevitable fate awaiting guilty Judah. 8: 4 to 10: 25.
8. Two symbolic sermons on the coming ruin. 13: 1-14.
9. Judah's great guilt and Jeremiah's tragic duty of proclaiming it. 14-17.
10. The sermon of the broken water-jar: Jehovah's overwhelming judgment. 19.
11. The public insult given to Jeremiah by Pashhur the priest. 20.
12. The making, destruction and remaking of the collection of Jeremiah's sermons. 36.

(333.) What king of Egypt determined to contest with Assyria for Asiatic leadership? (II Ki. 23: 29.) What did Josiah try to do? (23: 29.) What was the tragic result? (23: 29, 30.) Who was chosen king in Josiah's place? (23: 30; Jer. 22: 10-12.) What action did the Pharaoh take? (23: 33, 34.) Who became the king of Judah? (23: 33-37.) What prophet exultantly predicted the certain doom of Nineveh? By what three noteworthy figures did the prophets characterize the Assyrian nation? (Isa. 10: 15; Nahum 2: 11, 12; Ezek. 31: 1-14.) What characteristic prophetic method did Jeremiah use in much of his prophesying at this era of general hostility to him? (18, 13, 19.) What was the outstanding theme of his sermons? How was he treated by the people? (11: 8-23; 26: 8-11; 15: 10-14.) When he complained what did Jehovah say to him? (15: 15 to 16: 21.)

(334.) **The Death of King Josiah.** In 609 B.C. Necho succeeded his father Psamtik I on the throne of Egypt. He inherited a strong and prosperous empire and thought he saw in the imminent collapse of Assyria the opportunity to re-establish an Egyptian overlordship over Western Asia. He enlisted a large army of Greek mercenaries,

and with this well-organized force had little difficulty in defeating King Josiah, who at the head of his loyal army marched out bravely to meet him at Megiddo. According to the Chronicler, Necho had sent Josiah a conciliatory message (II Chron. 35: 20-24).

Students of history are perplexed over Josiah's apparent foolhardiness. Was he over-confident in the Divine protection or was his resolve to fight a noble determination to resist to the last the exchange of a nominal vassalage to Assyria for a certain subjection to Egypt?

(335.) **The Brief Egyptian Overlordship.** Thus Judah came under Egyptian control. Necho pressed onward to the Euphrates, expecting to be met by an Assyrian army. Finding none he returned to Riblah on the Orontes, which was favorably situated for controlling both Palestine and Syria. Here he sent for the new king of Judah, Jehoahaz, who had been placed on the throne by the "people of the land" (II Ki. 23: 30). It is not unlikely that the anti-Egyptian party chose him in place of his older brother because the latter was pro-Egyptian. At any rate Jehoahaz was not merely deposed, but loaded with chains and taken with every mark of ignominy to Egypt, where he died (Jer. 22: 10-12). Necho then appointed Eliakim, the rejected son, to be King of Judah, giving him the name of Jehoiakim (23: 34). Judah was heavily fined and the money collected promptly from the rash enthusiasts. (23: 35.) Some two years later the Chaldean King, Nabopolassar, was ready to try conclusions with Necho, with reference to the overlordship of Syria and Palestine. He intrusted the command of his army to his son, Nebuchadrezzar, a young man of about twenty-one years of age. Necho hastened to meet the Chaldean army at the northern frontier of his new empire. He was decisively defeated at Carchemish in 605 B.C. and ceased to dream of northern conquests (24: 7). His inglorious retreat made a deep impression upon the Hebrews (Jer. 46: 1-12).

(336.) **Internal Conditions in Judah.** With the death of Josiah and the elevation of Jehoiakim to the throne rapid changes ensued in Judah. Reform conditions disappeared (Jer. 11: 9-13) and the old forms of worship were set up again (7: 9; 8: 2, 19). This does not mean that Jehovah was no longer worshipped, but that the prophetic standards were abandoned in favor of practises dear to many of the people. It was really a triumph of religious conservatism. The popular belief that Jerusalem was invincible had grown into a superstition which Jeremiah had to attack later on (7: 8-15). Jeremiah's descriptions of the Divine purpose seemed to people and prince alike to be little short of blasphemous. They derided and persecuted him.

(337.) **Jeremiah's Sad but Busy Life.** A relatively large share of Jeremiah's prophecies date within these few years. He was dead in earnest. He felt compelled to utter message after message of condemnation and ruin. These cut him off from human fellowship. His own neighbors in Anathoth conspired against him, trying to prevent him from preaching (11: 21); the people and his fellow prophets mobbed him (26: 8); Pashhur, the priest, put him in the stocks (20: 2), and Jehoiakim's wrath forced him into hiding (36: 26). Though a man of great tenderness he was forbidden to marry and have a home and family (16: 1-4). He was bewildered by these bitter experiences, and even wondered how Jehovah in His providence could permit them to happen to him (12: 1-4). He was told in reply that he would meet yet greater trials (12: 5). Jeremiah, thus trained by discipline, became a man of resistless conviction, powerful because he vividly realized his close, conscious fellowship with God. Without fully knowing it he was through his own experience in the process of discovering a great forward step in religion, the recognition of the individual.

(338.) **The Prophecy of Nahum.** The prophecy of Nahum is unique in several ways. It is a study of Nineveh as the long triumphant but rapidly failing embodiment of savagery, pride and greed, all bringing

her to unlamented ruin. It is a poem of wonderful vividness. It expresses in brief compass the "hope, wrath and just passion of vengeance" which had been gathering in the mind of all peoples for many decades. The devout reader need not be repelled by it as a wild cry for vengeance, unworthy of a true Israelitish mind. Assyria had been for a century the greatest human obstacle in the pathway of Jehovah's people. Nahum's message to the mind of a faithful Judean was really an assurance of the prospect of leeway, outlook and achievement. It may be dated about 610-608 B.C., shortly before Nineveh's fall.

(339.) **The Siege and Capture of Nineveh.** The Assyrian empire went to pieces after the death of Ashurbanipal as rapidly as the northern kingdom did after the death of Jeroboam II. The end came with the capture of Nineveh by the Medes in 606 B.C. Those resolute and hardy mountaineers had by the middle of the seventh century B.C. become united under one sovereignty with Ecbatana as its capital. They made repeated attempts after Ashurbanipal's death, under Cyaxares (625-584 B.C.) their king, to capture Nineveh, but without success until joined by the Chaldeans under Nabopolassar who had been made viceroy of Babylonia under Ashurbanipal's successor. This prince soon gained independence, and founded an empire which lasted only about eighty years but was very glorious. It is called either the Chaldean or new Babylonian empire. Nineveh was so absolutely destroyed that two hundred years later Xenophon led his ten thousand troops close by its site and never suspected that a buried city lay beneath the sod. The two conquering peoples divided Central and Western Asia between them. The Medes were mountaineers and took the regions east and north of the Tigris. This arrangement endured for decades.

2. The Chaldean Mastery of Palestine, 605 B.C.

(II Kings 24:7; Jeremiah 46:1-12; 25; [46-51]; Habakkuk.)

(340.) These passages reflect the overthrow of Necho by Nebuchadrezzar and the coming of the Chaldeans into touch with Judah.

The Words of Jeremiah.

13. A taunt song commemorating Egypt's overthrow. 46: 1-12.
14. Later prophecies of uncertain dates concerning the ten foreign nations. 46: 13 to 51: 58.
15. The Chaldeans to be the executors of Jehovah's judgment. 25.

The Prophecy of Habakkuk.

1. The swift and terrible Chaldeans are to be Jehovah's agents in judgments on iniquitous Judah. 1: 1-11.
2. Shall such an insatiable conqueror have free range? 1: 12-17.
3. True righteousness will outlast all evil. 2: 1-4.
4. A fivefold woe upon the pride, greed, rapacity and idolatry of the conqueror. 2: 5-20.

[5. A lyric of Divine redemption, power, and purpose. 3.]

How did the mastery of Palestine pass from Necho to Nebuchadrezzar? (II Ki. 24: 7; Jer. 46: 2.) What did Jeremiah declare that Nebuchadrezzar would do? (Jer. 25: 9.) How many years did he think that the Chaldeans would have power? (25: 11.) How did Habakkuk describe the Chaldeans? How did he justify the Divine method? (Hab. 2: 2-4.)

(341.) **The Chaldean Victory at Carchemish.** History was made at Carchemish in 605 B.C. where the young Nebuchadrezzar defeated the forces of Necho so decisively. The victory determined the trend of Asiatic influence for several centuries. In particular it connected the Hebrew people with the conquerors for many decades, an experience of untold value to the former. The forecast of Jeremiah that Judah's immediate future was Chaldean proved wholly correct.

(342.) **The Prophecy of Habakkuk.** This little book is packed with educative thought. Intellectually and morally it is impressive. Jehovah's exaltation, His providence, His control of the world, His justice and consistency, the crime of national oppression, the function of world-powers as moral scourges, the self-destructiveness of wrongdoing, the security of rectitude, the serene confidence which trust in Jehovah affords are some of

its themes. It really discusses the Chaldean power in relation to Judah's discipline. Chaldea's mission is to sift and test Judah, but she is an organization for spoliation, sure to work out her own punishment. The righteous Hebrew can afford to wait patiently, steadfastly, trusting God and doing the right. This strong, serene word must have helped many a questioning soul in later days.

3. Jehoiakim's Last Seven Years; Jeremiah's Consistency. 604-597.

(II Kings 24: 1-6; Jeremiah 22: 13-23; 12: 7-12; 13: 15-27; 35.)

(343.) These verses describe the rest of Jehoiakim's reign, his submission to Nebuchadrezzar, his subsequent rebellion and the means taken by the great king to harass Judah.

Jeremiah's Words after 601.

16. His denunciation of Jehoiakim. 22: 13-23.
17. His appeal to the people to repent before it is too late. 13: 15-27.
18. A lamentation over Judah's certain fate. 12: 7-12.
19. A lesson from the Rechabites on obedience. 35.

How many years did Jehoiakim remain loyal to the Chaldeans? (II Ki. 24: 1.) How did Nebuchadrezzar punish him at first? (24: 2.) What was the great king's further program? (24: 10.) How did Jeremiah describe Jehoiakim? (Jer. 22: 13-15, 17.) What did he predict about the king? (Jer. 22: 18, 19.) How did he test the Rechabites? (35: 2, 5.) How did they justify their refusal? (35: 6-10.) For what did Jeremiah commend them as a public example?

(344.) **The Chaldean Conqueror, Nebuchadrezzar.** News of his father's death came to Prince Nebuchadrezzar while following up the retreating Egyptians. He hastened to Babylon and was accepted without question as his father's successor. He thus began a reign of over forty years (604-562 B.C.) remarkable alike for splendor, achievement and wisdom. The treaty with the Medes left him free to develop the resources of his empire. He made the city of Babylon a wonder of the world for strength and glory. He developed

commerce, united his empire, ruled it sternly but fairly, and promoted peace by pitilessly punishing disturbers. A man of deep religious spirit, he gloried in his civic achievements as the finest tribute of service he was able to pay to his gods.

(345.) **Jehoiakim's Later Reign.** For three years Jehoiakim paid tribute regularly to Chaldea (II Ki. 24: 1). The reason for his refusal to continue to do this is not given in Kings. It would seem incredible that he could listen to any promises or suggestions from Egypt after her recent humiliation, but no better explanation is available. There were always in Judah those who "drank the waters of the Nile" (Jer. 2: 18). No other people joined Judah. The great king did not at once move against Jehoiakim, but sent against him the bands of Chaldean soldiers left here and there in the Westland and the Syrian, Moabite and Ammonite auxiliaries. Such guerilla warfare continued for several years.

In 597 B.C. Nebuchadrezzar sent an army to besiege Jerusalem, following it to take personal charge of the campaign (II Ki. 24: 11). At or just before this crisis Jehoiakim died. II Kings 24: 6 implies that he died a natural death. The statement of the Chronicler (36: 6) that he was taken into exile lacks confirmation from any source.

(346.) **Jeremiah's Sermons at the Crisis.** The recorded utterances of Jeremiah at this time all seem to belong to the very end of Jehoiakim's reign. He saw no hope, and simply expressed the serious guilt of king and people and declared their inevitable fate. With his genius for dramatic illustration he used the men of the nomad tribe of Rechabites, whose ancestor had been an adherent of Jehu in the work of reform (II Ki. 10: 15-17), as striking illustrations, in their firm adherence to ancestral commands, of the sort of obedience which the people of Judah ought to render to the clear commands of Jehovah (Jer. 35).

4. The Accession of Jehoiachin, the Capitulation of Jerusalem and the First Captivity. 597 B.C.

(II Kings 24: 8-16; Jeremiah 13: 18, 19; 22: 24-30.)

(347.) These passages describe the succession of Jehoiachin, his quick surrender of Jerusalem, and the deportation of many of the better classes by Nebuchadrezzar.

Who succeeded Jehoiakim on the throne of Judah? (II Ki. 24: 6.) How old was he? (24: 8.) What was his name before ascending the throne? (Jer. 22: 24.) How long did he reign? (II Ki. 24: 8.) What did Jeremiah say about his prospects of re-establishment? (Jer. 22: 27, 30.) How did Jehoiachin end the siege? (II Ki. 24: 12.) Who were carried away into exile? (24: 14-16; Jer. 24: 1, 5.)

(348.) **The Brief Reign of Jehoiachin.** Jehoiakim was succeeded on the throne by Coniah, his son, a youth of eighteen. His mother was apparently a woman of some ascendancy, to judge from the prominence given her in the record and by Jeremiah. The name of Jehoiachin was taken by the king as his royal name. He had no chance to show his ability. The great king came in person to push the siege of Jerusalem. With wisdom the young ruler surrendered unconditionally.

(349.) **The First Captivity.** The prompt surrender of the king and his people to Nebuchadrezzar secured for them a relatively mild punishment. Apparently none were put to death. The great king deported the royal family, the court, the important leaders and many artizans. It was Jeremiah's opinion (Jer. 24) that the very flower of the population was carried away. Nebuchadrezzar clearly intended to take away those who were most likely to raise the standard of rebellion. Estimates of the number deported vary. Jeremiah 52: 28 enumerates 3320; II Kings 24: 14 mentions 10,000, a round number probably. Perhaps the former estimate counted only heads of families. They were settled in distant Babylonia, in villages, along the canal Kabaru or Chebar (Ezek. 1: 3), where they were allowed to form an organized community and to live a relatively free,

quiet life under their own leaders. According to II Ki. 24:13 and Jer. 27:19 Nebuchadrezzar partially stripped the Temple, but he did not cripple its service or place a foreign governor on the throne.

5. The Early Reign of Zedekiah, 597-592. (II Kings 24:17-20*a*; Jeremiah 22:1-9; 23; 24:27-29.)

(350.) These passages throw a vivid light on the spirit of the Jewish people during the first five years of Zedekiah's reign.

Jeremiah's Prophetic Words.

20. His letter of advice to the captives in Babylon: settle down, pay no attention to false advisers; your captivity will last seventy years. 29.
21. His estimate of the relative value of the exiles and of those left in Judah. 24.
22. His warning to King Zedekiah. 22:1-9.
23. His denunciation of the false prophets who were deceiving the people. 23:9-40.
24. His object lesson (27:1 must be an error) in opposition to the ambassadors and prophets who urged rebellion. 27.
25. His strenuous conflict with Hananiah. 28.

Who was made king of Judah after Jehoiachin's deposition? (II Ki. 24:17.) How did Jeremiah contrast his subjects with those taken away to Babylonia? (Jer. 24.) What advice did he give by letter to the impatient exiles? (29:5-7.) Against what did he warn them? (29:8.) What encouraging promises did he make? (24:6; 29:10.) What charges did Jeremiah make against some of the prophets of Judah? (23:11, 14, 16, 25-7, 31, 32.) By what symbolic prediction did Jeremiah oppose the confederacy with surrounding countries? (27:2, 7, 11.) How did Hananiah aim to neutralize its effect? (28:10, 11.) What was Jeremiah's rejoinder? (28:14.)

(351.) **The New King, Zedekiah.** Nebuchadrezzar placed upon the throne of Judah another son of Josiah, named Mattaniah, whose name was changed to Zedekiah. The conqueror counted confidently upon his obedience, seeking to assure this by transferring to Babylonia all the leaders of the professional, intellectual, and religious classes. Hence Zedekiah had to find his advisers among

their inferiors. Ezekiel draws a picture of these leaders quite as striking as Jeremiah's (Ezek. 11: 1-3; 8: 7-18). They were headstrong and foolish, blind to the real situation and bent on playing the game of politics. Zedekiah was too weak to cope with them. Only by the bold and outspoken stand of Jeremiah was an alliance with Moab, Ammon and other countries prevented.

(352.) **Jeremiah Against the Prophets.** The great body of prophets evidently favored the plan of revolution. Jeremiah had to manifest the most uncompromising opposition to them and their words. Hananiah, their leader, even dared to declare publicly in Jehovah's name, in contradiction to Jeremiah, that within two years the Chaldean empire would be shattered (Jer. 28: 11). Jeremiah denounced these prophets as mercenary deceivers (compare Micah 3: 5), immoral, blinded, deluded partisans, who knew neither Jehovah nor His purposes and ways. These false prophets were a great stumbling-block to Judah.

6. The Ministry of Ezekiel to the Exiled Judeans 592-586 B.C. (Ezekiel 1-24.)

(353.) These chapters tell the story of the ministry of Ezekiel to the exiles during the last six years of Zedekiah's reign.

The Early Prophecies of Ezekiel.

1. His vision of Jehovah on His throne guarded by the four living creatures. 1.
2. His prophetic commission. 2: 1 to 3: 11.
3. His appointment as a watchman. 3: 12-21.
4. The Divine direction to cease public preaching for a time. 3: 22-27.
5. Four symbolic actions predicting Jerusalem's certain fate. 4: 1 to 5: 17.
6. The certain devastation of the land of Israel. 6.
7. The abominable wickedness of Jerusalem and her punishment. 8: 1 to 11: 12.
8. A restoration sure. 11: 13-25.
9. Jehovah's past dealings with His people. 20: 1-44.
10. The symbolic declaration of certain exile for King Zedekiah and his people. 12: 1-20.
11. Ezekiel's condemnation of the false prophets. 12: 21 to 13: 23.
12. The hopeless corruption of Judah. 14.

13. Jerusalem a worthless vine. 15.
14. Her shameful moral record since the beginning. 16.
15. Zedekiah's breach of faith with Nebuchadrezzar. 17.
16. Every man is held responsible by Jehovah for his own acts. 18.
17. Jehovah will unsheath His avenging sword against Judah and Ammon. 20: 45 to 21: 32.
18. The imminent doom of the nation. 7.
19. The extreme wickedness of Jerusalem. 22.
20. The two unfaithful wives of Jehovah, Samaria and Jerusalem. 23.
21. The report of the siege: Jerusalem a rusty caldron to be cleansed by fire. 24.

(354.) **The Book of Ezekiel.** The book of Ezekiel is exactly divided into two great sections. Chapters 1-24 record the work of the prophet before the fall of Jerusalem. The second half consists of chapters 25-32, predictions against various nations; chapters 33-39 a group of comforting messages; and chapters 40-48 the vision of the reconstructed city and temple. It is a carefully edited book of remarkable interest, but especially valuable for its record of the methods by which Ezekiel ministered wisely to the exiles of his day.

(355.) **Ezekiel the Priest.** Ezekiel was both priest and prophet. He exercised no sacerdotal functions, but he belonged to the priestly caste and had the priestly habit of mind. He was, distinctively, a man of the study, yet statesmanlike. One who reviews his writings with care is impressed by the depth and range of his thought. His curious visions embodied strong convictions. He was evidently a man of broad culture, a master of civil and ritual law and of the historical and prophetic writings of his people. In many ways he was rarely fitted for the two-fold task of being a pastor to the bewildered people in exile with him and of discovering and developing a new ritual basis to fit the Divine requirements.

(356.) **Ezekiel's Vision and Call.** The record in chapters 1: 1 to 3: 21 conveys Ezekiel's own description of the vision through which he received his summons to responsible leadership. With a complicated symbolism that is rather bewildering and probably reflects the grotesque imagery which faced one on every palace or

temple in Babylonia, Ezekiel set forth his conviction that Jehovah's presence was with His people in exile with all His power and knowledge and purpose and that He called the prophet to significant service for them.

(357.) **His Sermons for Five Years.** Ezekiel represents himself as being most of the time in retirement. He acted out some of his symbolic prophecies, but made no attempt to deal with men except in private or by the written message. Probably the people were not in a listening mood. His symbolic actions preached to them for him, making them think. The general result of his efforts was their gradual reconciliation to their conditions. But Ezekiel was a thinker. He not only set forth a noble conception of Jehovah and of His providence (20), but he co-operated with Jeremiah by declaring the need of new hearts and right spirits (11:19; 18:31. cf. Jer. 24:7) and by setting forth more clearly the great principle of individual responsibility (18).

7. The Rebellion of Zedekiah and the Capture and Destruction of Jerusalem. 586 B.C.

(II Kings 24:20*b* to 25:21; Jeremiah 21, 31-34, 37:1 to 40:6.)

(358.) These passages relate the details of the rebellion of Zedekiah, the investment of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar, the capture of the city, its destruction and the deportation of the inhabitants.

Jeremiah's Prophecies in Connection with the Fall of Jerusalem.

26. His reply to King Zedekiah's inquiry. 21.
27. His later advice: resistance is useless; submit. 34: 1-7.
28. His denunciation of the perfidy of the people. 34: 8-22.
29. His declaration that Nebuchadrezzar would return to prosecute the siege of the city. 37: 1-10.
30. Jeremiah's confinement during the siege. 37: 11-21; 38; 39: 15-18.
31. The object lesson by which Jeremiah testified to his belief in a restoration of the nation to its own land. 32 (especially verses 6-15.)
32. Jeremiah's vision of the future with its new spiritual and individual covenant. 31: 31-40.
33. A similar declaration, undeniably exilic as a whole, but containing passages, such as verses 7-10, 14-16, from Jeremiah. 33.
34. Miscellaneous data concerning the capture of the city. 39.
35. Jeremiah's determination to stay in Judah. 40: 1-6.

(359.) In which regnal year of Zedekiah did Nebuchadrezzar come to Palestine to punish his rebellion? (II Ki. 25: 1.) What advice did Jeremiah give to the king? (Jer. 21: 2, 6, 7, 9.) What move did Egypt make which temporarily lifted the siege? (37: 5, 11.) What act of perfidy did the people commit, when the besiegers went away? (34: 15, 16, 18-20.) How did Jeremiah denounce them? (34: 17, 20-22.) On what charge was Jeremiah arrested? (37: 1-14.) Where was he confined? (37: 15.) How did the king lighten his punishment? (37: 21). What further charge was made against him? (38: 4). Where was he then confined? (38: 6). Who gave him friendly help? (38: 7-13.) What was the eunuch's reward? (39: 15-18.) What was Jeremiah's last word to Zedekiah? (38: 14-23). In what vivid, symbolic fashion did he testify to his belief in a restoration to Judah after a long exile? (32: 6-15.) What two great promises did Jeremiah make? (31: 31-34.) When the Chaldean army made a breach in the wall of Jerusalem, what happened to Zedekiah? (39: 4-7.) What was done to Jeremiah? (39: 11-14.) What was done to the city and Temple? (II Ki. 25: 9-10, 13-17.) What was done to some selected leaders? (25: 18-21.) What happened to the mass of the people? (25: 11.) What happened to the peasantry? (25: 12.)

(360.) **The Rebellion of Zedekiah.** In 588 B.C. a new, vigorous, and ambitious king, Hophra or Apries, ascended the throne of Egypt. He had longings for Asiatic conquest and joined with the false prophets of Judah and with Judah's little sister peoples in urging Zedekiah to revolt. This combination was quite too much for the weak king to withstand. Notwithstanding the steady opposition of Jeremiah, Judah revolted. By the end of the year the Chaldeans had overrun Palestine, conquering without serious opposition every opponent but Tyre, Lachish, Azekah, and Jerusalem (Jer. 34: 7). The great king placed his headquarters at Riblah on the Orontes, a favorite site for the permanent camp of many of his predecessors. Jerusalem held out bravely for over a year against the Chaldean besiegers. No doubt many

of the defenders hoped for Egyptian aid. Jeremiah, when interrogated by Zedekiah, held out no hope. He declared that unconditional surrender was the only practicable step to take.

(361.) **The Sudden Raising of the Siege.** For the sake of winning Jehovah's favor the leading Jerusalemites had bound themselves by a solemn covenant (Jer. 34: 8-10) to comply with the Deuteronomic law which called for the freeing of every Hebrew slave who had served his master six years (Deut. 15: 12-15). Hardly was the ceremony over, when the Chaldean army moved away from the walls of the city. With equal promptness the slave owners broke the covenant and re-enslaved the freed men (Jer. 34: 11). This cynical and shameless procedure evoked a sharp rebuke from the prophet. The real reason for the withdrawal of the Chaldeans had been the tidings of an advancing Egyptian army (Jer. 37: 5). The Chaldean forces met it and drove it back to Egypt without much trouble. Egyptian aid had again proved of no real value. The siege of Jerusalem was very soon tighter than ever.

(362.) **The Persecution of Jeremiah.** The prophet's unmeasured denunciation of the bad faith of these Judaean magnates and his continued declaration that the siege would be renewed and Jerusalem captured infuriated the leaders. They threw him into prison on a sudden charge of treason (Jer. 37: 11-15). Zedekiah managed to lighten the severity of Jeremiah's imprisonment (37: 16-21), but not for long. The prophet was thrown into a cistern to starve (38: 1-6). Only the secret support of the king and the courage of a friendly eunuch of the palace (38: 7-13) saved him from death. Thereafter he was kept a prisoner in the palace until the end of the siege (38: 28).

(363.) **His Demonstration of his Confidence in the Future.** During these final days, while Jeremiah was a prisoner, he showed in a striking way his entire confidence in his own predictions of the future. An ancestral piece of property was purchased by him and the title

registered in the belief that Judean land would once again have value (32: 6-15). No declaration could have sounded so loudly as that formal business transaction.

(364.) **The Capture and Destruction of the City.** In July, 586 B.C., a year and a half after the first appearance of the Chaldeans (II Ki. 25: 1-3), a breach was made in the wall of Jerusalem and their soldiers poured into the doomed city. Zedekiah and a band of warriors escaped through the southern gate of the city by night (25: 4) and fled toward the Jordan valley. They were overtaken by the Chaldean horsemen and taken before Nebuchadrezzar at Riblah, where the king and his sons were made to realize the bitterness and anguish of defeat (25: 5-7). They were put to death and he was blinded and taken in chains to Babylon.

By its unprovoked rebellion and long-continued resistance Jerusalem had marked itself in Chaldean eyes for destruction. The army went about its work with great thoroughness. The Temple was stripped of everything of value and then burnt, together with the royal palace and much of the city (25: 9, 13-17). The walls were also demolished (25: 10), and Jerusalem made a ruin, which should witness to the folly of braving the displeasure of the great king.

(365.) **The Disposal of the Survivors.** With similar care the Chaldeans dealt with the remaining population. The ringleaders, such as the chief priest and the leading officials, were taken to Riblah and there put to death. (II Ki. 25: 18-21). Jeremiah, whose work had become known to the victors, was given permission to choose his own fate (Jer. 40: 1-6). Many were deported to Babylonia, but most of the peasantry were undisturbed (II Ki. 25: 12). Nebuchadrezzar had no desire to make the land a wilderness, but he proposed to put an end forever to national activity. The actual number of those deported is reckoned in Jer. 52: 29 as eight hundred and thirty-two, which seems incredibly small, even if reckoned as heads of families. Over the few whom war and pillage had left in the land, Nebuchadrezzar appointed

a governor, Gedaliah, the grandson of Josiah's faithful counsellor, a choice man, to whom all the Jews round about began quickly to rally (25: 22-23). He established his seat of government at Mizpah and began the work of allaying fear and recuperating the land. His choice, instead of that of a Chaldean, was a fair proof that the great king wished well of the conquered land.

8. Judah's Last Half Century. 639-586 B.C.

(366.) A survey of the period from Josiah's accession until the destruction of Jerusalem recalls the active struggle for the mastery between the forces which aimed to establish an ideal state ruled in the fear of Jehovah and the influential group, often supported by royal example, which loved the old ways in religion and business. Josiah and the prophetic and priestly leaders who set up the Deuteronomic regime were men of deep sincerity and earnestness. They hoped by strict obedience to the law as interpreted in Deuteronomy to bring about a national situation which Jehovah would assuredly bless. Jeremiah seems to have joined them heartily at the first. But he had little to say after a while, and probably became increasingly doubtful of the permanence of that sort of reform. He realized the strength of the congenital Canaanitish heathenism in the popular affection, and saw that no ordinances, however good, could change a heart. The sudden breakdown of the Deuteronomic reform after Josiah's death and the accession of Jehoiakim confirmed him in this view. The battle he fought during the next twenty years was for the individual recognition of Jehovah and obedience to him. He placed less and less confidence in the forms or props of religion, even predicting calmly the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, of whose inviolableness Isaiah had been confident, and the passing of the state. To him the one thing needful was a personal knowledge of Jehovah and allegiance to Him.

(367.) **The Prophetic Teaching of the Seventh Century.** The five prophets who declared the Divine will to the

Judean people between the days of Isaiah and the downfall of Jerusalem make a group, less compact and unified, but quite as interesting and important as the quartet of eighth century leaders. These seventh century prophets did their work within a relatively short period, the last forty years (626-586), Zephaniah leading off, Jeremiah continuing throughout. Nahum and Habakkuk represented the religious survey of the character, career and significance of the two great empires which shaped most decisively the Israelitish mind and gave it an outlook upon the real world. Nahum may well have influenced Habakkuk. The latter sees with equal clearness the essential weakness of the policy of plunder and greed. He states less forcibly the avenging wrath of Jehovah, who makes thorough work with corruption (Na. 1:9), but emphasizes the enduring holiness and wisdom that gives a religious minded man the readiness to wait for His Divine purpose to come to expression. Habakkuk is the greater thinker. He may well have influenced Jeremiah to take that broad-ranging view of Divine Providence which gave him support in his twenty years of controversy with narrow-visioned men of power. Zephaniah's value was in his clear-cut analysis of the religious situation which existed in the early days of Josiah, and his very definite declaration of the Divine attitude toward it.

(368.) **Its Comparison with Earlier Prophecy.** In the earlier review (§ 304) of the prophets of the latter half of the eighth century, we noted nine rather distinct ideas: Jehovah a moral Being; the ruler of the world; requiring His covenanted people to be loyal to His ideals; observing that their real life precluded this loyalty and was too firmly rooted to be altered; concluding, therefore, to bring them to conscious repentance by the way of judgments through the Assyrian; intending the judgment to be disciplinary, redemptive, and resulting in a "remnant"; planning to furnish the "remnant" with adequate leadership; deciding for its sake to preserve

Jerusalem intact; and expecting that thus Israel would rise to the height of her real task.

The prophets of the latter part of the seventh century were familiar with these great ideas and built upon them to a large extent. They dwelt upon Jehovah's universal moral sovereignty which led him to demand of all nations that they recognize moral and spiritual obligations. Habakkuk speaks of God's eternal goodness on which humanity may rely with absoluteness. These permanent and universal qualities of the Divine took a new hold upon the prophets who were struggling with intensely perplexing conditions, politically and socially. Whether Zephaniah was as interested in the future work of the righteous "remnant" as he was in predicting the sure destruction that was bound to come upon haughty and self-satisfied (Zeph. 2: 15) Nineveh is a matter for speculation. There can be no doubt, however, that Jeremiah, whose thinking compassed the days of his three contemporaries, was gradually led, through his very acceptance of the facts that Judah was too far involved in guilt to be able to repent and that she was sure to be humiliated and her national existence brought to an end, even the Temple being destroyed, to declare more clearly than ever Jehovah's continuing purpose for the world through His people, their certain preservation in a form which would maintain their usefulness, their return after a time of indefinite length, seventy years, their assured leadership* (33: 15; 23: 5, 6), and a future which seems more distinctively missionary in its outlook than that formulated by Isaiah (3: 14-18; 12: 14-17; 16: 19-21). He was driven, besides, to his greatest religious contribution to human thinking, the new and vital relationship which Jehovah was going to establish with every worshipper, the "new covenant written on the heart," expressed in the definite knowledge of Jehovah by each one (9: 24)

* These passages are regarded as post-exilic by many on the ground that Jeremiah would not anticipate that national development would come through the degenerate Judean royal race. Very naturally, however, he might use the form of words while still thinking of a real spiritual leader.

and in doing His will in thought, word and deed. The moment people began to think of themselves individually as children of God, directly responsible to Him and not merely as members of a religious community, responsible to its rulers, a new spiritual era dawned in religious history.

(369.) **The Other Literature of the Century.** In addition to this prophetic literature, the Deuteronomic code (§ 324), the great combined prophetical History of the Hebrews, JE (§ 310) and the official chronicles which were kept concerning each king, three sorts of literature may be specified which were probably "under way." The history of Samuel as a judge, from which were taken chapters 1:1 to 4:1*a*; 7:3 to 8:21; 12 and 15 of the book of First Samuel, passages which interpret the history of that day quite differently from the fairly contemporary narrative of the founding of the kingdom in I Sam. 9-11, 13, 14, cannot have been later than the seventh century and probably belongs to the early portion of the century. The whole book of Samuel may have been completed during the century. The Psalter, as a whole, is clearly a post-exilic collection. It was the hymnal of Judaism. Most, if not all, of the psalms have gone through much editing and adaptation. Verses 7-10 of psalm 24 might conceivably be very early; but verses 1-6 required the insight of a long range of prophets for their development. Psalm 60 illustrates the clearly post-exilic envelopment, verses 1-5 and 10*b*-12, of an early poem which reflects with equal clearness the days of Israel's pride. There is no more complex and puzzling problem than the real history of the Psalter. It is fair to say, however, that there were people in these centuries capable of writing psalms and that such collections as the Korahite and Asaphite groups may fairly represent relatively early specimens. It is quite impossible, however, to give dates. The Proverbs must be similarly treated. We have no reason for declaring that no proverbial collections had been made before 586 B.C. Proverbs 25:1 is some evidence to the contrary. But how

extensive they were is very conjectural. The book of Proverbs is a post-exilic book.

The literary history of northern Israel ended when it had just fairly begun. Possibly many treasures were lost in the struggles with Tiglath-pileser and Shalmaneser. Whatever we have was preserved and generally was edited by scholars of Judah. The age of Manasseh deepened the literary interest of the Judean prophetic circles and the success of Deuteronomy developed a literary passion among them. From the days of the exile the making and preservation of literature was a highly honored professional duty.

(370.) **A Review of Israel's and Judah's Careers.**

Duration of the Period. What was its exact length? What four dates seem most significant?

Its Great Events. Thinking back over these centuries, name the ten events of first importance.

Its Noteworthy Leaders. Name the five greatest kings of Israel or Judah; the five greatest names in history outside of these countries; the five greatest prophets in the order of their importance; five men of importance mentioned in the history, not belonging to any of these groups.

The Nations with which the Hebrews were in Contact. In the course of our study of these centuries since the Disruption at least fourteen nationalities have been mentioned. Mention three great ones and three of second rank.

The Records of Literature. How many Biblical books have been wholly or substantially considered during our study of the period? Which were noteworthy from the viewpoint of literary charm? Mention ten great passages which every one should know and enjoy.

Their Value as descriptive of the Life of the Hebrews in their day. What records give the reader a peculiarly vivid understanding of the life of the people? Give half a dozen illustrations of this.

Their History of Prophecy. Think back through them, placing each of the thirteen prophetic leaders men-

tioned in his historical order, and stating what each one stood for in his day.

Their History of the Temple. Review the history of the Temple, its priesthood and its service.

Their Story of Political Development. Review the shaping influence upon the Hebrew people of their political history? What were the political and religious causes of the decline and fall of the kingdom?

Their Story of Social Development. By what stages did the Hebrew people become the cultured community which could boast such thinkers as Habakkuk and Jeremiah?

Their Story of Religious Development. Formulate to yourself the religious consciousness of the average man of Solomon's day and compare it with that of the average man of Zedekiah's day. Compare similarly the religious leaders of each epoch. In what respects was the nation which faced exile at an advantage over the nation which suffered disruption?

A True Title for the Age. What title seems more descriptive of the age as a whole than the one used in the book?

Its Supremely Distinctive Factor. What one influence predominated in shaping the development of the Hebrew people during the age? Would religious reform have prevented the decadence of the kingdom?

THE AGE OF MENTAL AND SPIRITUAL PRODUCTIVITY

THE AGE OF MENTAL AND SPIRITUAL PRODUCTIVITY

From the Babylonian Exile to the Establishment of Judaism under Ezra and Nehemiah, 586-400 B.C. (*Ezra, Nehemiah, Lamentations and five prophetical books.*)

(371.) The glory of the Hebrew race was its leadership of the world in religious appreciation. It became the world's teacher of enduring religion, formulated in terms which have a universal appeal. The slightly less than two centuries following the destruction of Jerusalem was the period during which this formulation of eternal truth took place. It was the truly creative period of the national history. The exile seemed to the Hebrews in far-off Babylonia and Egypt a grievous punishment for the sins of their race. But it was far more than a retribution. God made it a wonderful opportunity. Through its experiences and necessary adjustments the Hebrew people became true Israelites, a people whose particular genius found expression in religious advancement. Cut off from national interests, even after they were permitted to found a community at Jerusalem, they turned their energies to matters of religion. While the dominant religious interests were those of organization and of literary co-ordination and codification, there were always, as in earlier days, great original souls, who dwelt on the religious and moral issues of the day and interpreted them in terms of the divine character and purpose. The sublimest and most brilliant prophecy of any nation or any age found expression in the attempt to show to Israel that Jehovah's ways were nobly consistent, His purposes unchanging, and His goodness and mercy as enduring as the earth itself. One great result of the exile was the elimination of idolatry. In the days of Ezra and Nehemiah the polytheism of the great empire to which the Jews were subject had ceased to be attractive.

A still greater result was the conversion of the Hebrews from a people with strong local affections into a cosmopolitan people with a genius for business and a willingness to travel. After the exile only a small fraction of the race ever resided in Judea. At this time also they came to be generally known as "Jews" (Ezra 4:12; 6:7), by which name they will henceforth be called.

(372.) **The Chronology of the Age.** It was the habit of this age to give exact dates and many of them. The difficulties of chronology arise almost wholly from the meagerness of records. The Assyrians and Chaldeans were interested in knowing accurate dates and developed excellent systems of record. From them the Jewish people caught the habit and maintained it (Hag. 1:1; 2:20; Zech. 1:1, 7), generally dating events in the proper year of the reigning emperor.

(373.) **The Historical Sources.** The book of Second Kings contributes only one or two details to the history of this period. No record of the exile proper exists. The book of Daniel cannot be used as a historical source for the reasons that the author, who lived some centuries later in the early Maccabean age, misunderstood the historical sources to which he had access, unwittingly made them contravene records which are indisputable, and used them for his own special purpose of stirring up his fellow-countrymen to a great loyalty to God. The result was a wonderful book, one of the most influential books ever written, but unadapted for historical reference purposes.

An important share of the incidental facts of history available for the period is derived from the prophetical writings. Three well-known prophets, Ezekiel, Haggai and Zechariah, and one whom we know only by a name, which may not be a personal one, Malachi, make many historical allusions which are helpful. The unknown writers of the exilic and post-exilic portions of the book of Isaiah are less directly interested in mundane affairs, but afford a few historical clues.

The inscriptions and records of the Chaldean and

Persian empires are invaluable to the student of history. Since they have been available many of the ideas regarding the Median empire and the capture of Babylon which were accepted by an earlier age without question have been corrected. Greek writers like Herodotus begin to be available. All of these sources help the careful student to interpret the scanty Jewish records and supplement them.

(374.) **The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah.** The best historical document available is the remainder of the great historical work carried through by the Chronicler or by a group of writers (§ 229). One who compares the close of Second Chronicles (36: 22-23) with the beginning of the book of Ezra (1: 1-3*a*) will see that the two books were originally continuous. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah were originally one work and must be used as such. They include quite varied materials, which tell the story of the return to Judah and of the rebuilding of the Temple and city. The narrative is not continuous in itself, and is manifestly a compilation by some one who wrote long after the age of Nehemiah and had at his disposal authentic memoirs of Nehemiah and probably of Ezra, as well as other materials. The genealogy of Neh. 12: 11 extends to three generations after Nehemiah (Eliashib was his contemporary). Some of the references to Nehemiah and to Ezra make them figures of past history (Neh. 12: 26, 47; Ezra 7: 6, 10). These memoirs, with the exception of some extracts from those of Nehemiah (Neh. 1-6; 13: 4-31), the compiler rewrote in his own fashion. The difference between his reproduction of the Nehemiah memoirs and those of Ezra does not suggest, as some scholars seem to hold, that the Chronicler invented Ezra and his share in the establishment of Judaism; it rather explains his uncertainty regarding the exact order of events in Nehemiah's time. Such facts as these justify scholars in differing quite a little in their interpretation of the order of events from the permission of Cyrus to return to the rehabilitation of Jerusalem about a century later.

XIV

THE SEVENTY YEARS OF HOMELESSNESS. 586-516 B.C. (JEREMIAH 40-44; EZEKIEL 25-48; LAMENTATIONS; ISAIAH 13, 14, 40-48; HAGGAI; ZECHARIAH 1-8; II KINGS 25: 22-30; EZRA 1-6.)

(375.) The period of the exile was placed by Jeremiah at seventy years. (Jer. 29: 10.) This seems like a round number, not to be dealt with as an exact estimate. Curiously enough, however, the years which elapsed between the destruction of one Temple and the completion of another was exactly in accordance with his statement. It may also be said that in a true sense the exile was not over until the return to Judah was made permanent by the erection of a worshipping center. Until that was obtained the Jews were not really at home again. Nevertheless the estimate was probably a general one and was fulfilled by the half century of detention in Babylonia.

The period of the exile in Babylonia and Egypt was of very great importance to the Jewish people. They went into it disheartened, disillusioned, disinclined to do otherwise than drift for the time being. The destruction of Jerusalem and of the Temple was a blow which dazed them by its suddenness and unexpectedness. Isaiah's declaration of Jerusalem's inviolableness had passed into a dogma, which none of the counter-declarations of Jeremiah could affect. The catastrophe was a calamity to them beyond our powers of easy realization. But under the leadership of such men as Ezekiel and the prophets, priests and princes whom we cannot name, they recovered their hopefulness, discovered the advantages and opportunities of the larger world, and entered into these so fully that they henceforth became a cosmopolitan people rather than a Judean people. Jerusalem came to be of importance as representing a Divine purpose rather than as an actual abode of the Jewish race. The greater and more important "Israel" was the Israel abroad rather than the portion of the race which made its home in Judea. They belonged to the world,

Jerusalem being a rallying center which kept them unified.

1. The Hebrew People immediately after the Great Calamity. (II Ki. 25:22, 26; Jer. 40-44; Ezek. 25-32; Lamentations).

(376.) This material combines to afford a striking picture of the fortunes and the feelings of the exiled Hebrews.

Jeremiah's Experiences with the Egyptian Fugitives.

36. The reassembling of many fugitives near Mizpah. 40: 7-12.
37. The murder of Gedaliah the governor and others by Ishmael. 40: 13 to 41: 10.
38. Johanan's rescue of Ishmael's captives. 41: 11-18.
39. Jeremiah's advice to those who thought of fleeing to Egypt. 42.
40. Their flight to Egypt, accompanied by Jeremiah and Baruch. 43: 1-7.
41. His prediction at Tahpanhes of Egypt's conquest. 43: 8-13.
42. The idolatry of the Jews in Egypt and their punishment. 44.

Ezekiel's Encouraging Messages to the Scattered Exiles.

22. Judgments upon Ammon, Moab, Edom and Philistia for their unfriendliness in the days of Judah's trouble. 25.
23. Tyre sure to be captured by Nebuchadrezzar. 26.
24. A dirge over the ruin of the splendid and beautiful queen of the sea. 27.
25. Tyre's fate due to her pride and greed. 28: 1-19.
26. Egypt, the fallen cedar, the captured crocodile, will meet the fate of other great nations of the past. 29-32.
27. Judah shall be restored when all have been dealt with. 28: 20-26.

The Lamentations.

1. An alphabetical acrostic poem: the desolation and misery of Jerusalem. 1.
2. An acrostic poem: Jehovah's anger with His people. 2.
3. An acrostic poem: The nation's complaint but assurance of God's compassion. 3.
4. An acrostic poem: The past and the present of Zion. 4.
5. The nation's appeal for Jehovah's compassionate regard. 5.

(377.) Who was made governor of the people of Judea by Nebuchadrezzar? (Jer. 40: 7.) What was the first effect of this appointment upon the fugitives near at hand? (40: 11, 12.) By whom was Gedaliah murdered? (41: 1-3.) What did the murderer do with the people? (41: 10.) When Johanan had rescued them, what question did he put to Jeremiah? (42: 1-3.) What was

Jeremiah's advice? (42: 10-12.) What did the people do, on hearing it? (43: 1-4.) At Tahpanhes what was Jeremiah's message? (43: 8-13.) What beautiful figure did Ezekiel elaborate in describing Tyre? (Ezek. 27.) By what figures did he refer to Egypt? (29-32.)

(378.) **The Scattered People of Judah.** The first few years after the destruction of Jerusalem found Judah's population in three countries: Judea, Babylonia, and Egypt. Dr. Smith's estimate of the Judean people at the end of the seventh century is not less than a quarter of a million. He thinks also that an outside estimate of every man, woman and child taken to Babylonia in the three deportations (Jer. 52: 28-30) would stand at from sixty to seventy thousand. In Egypt had gathered many who had fled from Judea at one time and another. These were joined by the fugitives who abandoned Judea after the murder of Gedaliah (Jer. 43: 7). They settled in Tahpanhes, Migdol, Memphis and Pathros (Jer. 44: 1). They must have been numbered by thousands. Tahpanhes, where Jeremiah and the fugitives from Judea remained, was a frontier town where Asiatics and Egyptians met on freest terms. The next king of Egypt, Amasis, changed this freedom, but it lasted for more than twenty years. Other parts of Egypt, moreover, were free to them. Comparatively recent discoveries of records of the next century show that on the island of Elephantine were many Jewish residents, who lived a free and prosperous life. They built a temple to Jehovah there and sought to preserve their racial unity in every way. There must have been quite as many in Egypt as in Babylonia. Even so and notwithstanding the misfortunes of war a larger number still were probably left in Palestine. The Babylonians, who had no intention of devastating the country, did not deem it necessary to import any colonists. Those who remained were peasantry, disorganized and depressed, an easy prey to their encroaching neighbors.

(379.) **Gedaliah's Brief Four Years' Reign.** The Chaldeans gave to the people left in Judea their own ruler,

Gedaliah, a high-minded, patient, loyal and brave grandson of Josiah's trusted adviser. No better appointment could have been made. He drew back to Judea many fugitives; he promoted the revival of agriculture; he mediatized happily between the Chaldeans and his own people. His generous friendliness cost him his life and the community its hopeful start. He was murdered before, but not long before, 581 B.C. (Jer. 52:30) by a jealous scion of the royal house of Judah, with whom the king of Ammon conspired. The surrounding peoples did not wish for Judah's rehabilitation.

(380.) **Jeremiah and the Fugitives.** While Gedaliah lived, Jeremiah must have enjoyed the confidence and reverence of the people and felt repaid for his loyalty to them (Jer. 40:6). At the crisis which resulted from the murder of the governor, the people turned to him for advice (42:1-3). He delayed ten days before making reply (42:7). This was unfortunate since by that time the people were not in a mood to take his counsel, and their leaders had determined upon a policy of flight to Egypt. Jeremiah urged them to remain in Judea, promising that Nebuchadrezzar would not take vengeance, and declaring that going to Egypt would be virtual suicide (42:9-22). The leaders suspected that the message was one which Jeremiah and Baruch had hatched between them (43:2, 3) and refused to obey the message. They set out for Egypt, taking Jeremiah and Baruch along with them (43:6, 7). They settled at first at Tahpanhes or Daphne, a frontier city built by Psamtik I, where many foreigners lived under the protection of the Pharaoh. Jeremiah showed them by one of his characteristic symbolic prophecies that their exchange of masters would profit them but little. He buried some large stones in the open-air platform of brickwork, which was near the palace, taking pains to be noticed by the fugitives, declaring that on these stones Nebuchadrezzar would place his royal throne and pass judgment upon Egypt (43:8-13). We know little more about the noble prophet. Tradition declares that the Jewish rabble,

stung by his fierce invective, stoned him to death. Such a martyrdom would not have been an unfitting conclusion to his life of sacrifice. The occasion for it is suggested by Jer. 44, a denunciation of the idolatrous unfaithfulness of some of the fugitives, unparalleled for vigor and directness.

(381.) **The Prophet Jeremiah.** It is idle to compare Jeremiah even with Isaiah, his most distinguished predecessor. Each had a long ministry which covered a critical period in the national life and dealt with a very complicated state of affairs. Each was a statesman in his way; each witnessed the devastation of his country. Jeremiah faced a more hopeless situation than Isaiah. He had to reverse the declarations of Isaiah about Jerusalem and to declare her certain doom. He held a different view from Isaiah about exile, probably sharing in the view that a thoroughgoing cleaning up (II Ki. 21: 13) was Jehovah's definite intention, after which the people would return, the exile being a divine means of redemption.

Jeremiah deserves a high place in the estimate of the religious historian. Not only did he show remarkable bravery and independence, but he refused, as Jehovah's servant, to sanction as nationally right what he personally believed to be wrong. He was a poor diplomat, but a great soul, a true and loyal patriot, a sacrificial example.

(382.) **Ezekiel's Prophecies about Certain Nations.** During the period round about the fall of Jerusalem Ezekiel uttered the larger number of the predictions grouped between chapters 25 and 32. These are not outbursts of vindictiveness or expressions of national jealousy, nor mere predictions of a just retribution to come upon those who have inflicted injuries upon the people of Judah. They are rather the assertion of Jehovah's sovereignty over these peoples also and the certainty that He will deal with them and with His own people on principles of eternal justice. They claim the certain subjection of Egypt, the old crocodile (Ezek. 29: 3-5) to Nebuchadrezzar, Jehovah's agent. The stately

cedar is doomed to be felled by skilful axemen (31: 10-14). The most interesting of this group of prophecies is the dirge over Tyre (27) wherein she is likened to a stately trireme, laden with the wealth of all nations, but foundering because of the storm from the east. It portrays the extensive commerce of that city of merchants.

(383.) **The Five Lamentations.** Two at least, the second and fourth, and probably the first four of the five dirges in the book of Lamentations, are the product of an eye-witness. They are not, however, unstudied expressions of emotion, but carefully elaborated poems, exquisite but artistic. Each of the first four is an alphabetical acrostic, written in a peculiar rhythm.* They afford a vivid picture of the calamities attending the siege and sacking of the city. They are more likely to have been composed by a disciple of Jeremiah than by the prophet himself. The author was an artist beyond doubt.

2. Ezekiel's Work of Comforting, Heartening and Construction for the Babylonian Exiles. 586-570 B.C. (Ezekiel 33 to 48.)

(384.) These chapters tell a clear story of Ezekiel's remarkable work as a pastor among the discouraged exiles and as one with the power of constructing a future.

Ezekiel's Messages of Comfort and Cheer.

28. God's appointment of Ezekiel to announce the future possible for Judah. 33.
29. A lament over Judah's rulers, Jehoahaz, Jehoiachin and Zedekiah. 19.
30. Jehovah the true ruler of His people through a Davidic prince. 34.
31. The well-deserved desolation of Edom. 35.
32. The certain restoration of Israel to Judah and Jehovah's motive in bringing it about. 36.
33. The vision of the valley of dry bones: Jehovah can make a new nation. 37: 1-14.
34. The symbol of the two sticks: the future Israel to be a united kingdom. 37: 15-28.
35. The complete overthrow of the aggressive heathen world and full establishment of Jehovah's authority everywhere. 38, 39.

* See the illustrations quoted from *The Psalms Chronologically Arranged* by Fowler *Lit. Ancient Israel*, 247, 248, and the full translations in G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, vol. ii, 274-283 and in Kent, StOT, vol. v.

Ezekiel's Vision of the Restored Hebrew State.

36. The new sanctuary on the Temple mount: its gateways, courts, temple and adjuncts, buildings and its consecration. 40-43.
37. Ordinances relating to the Levites and priests, the prince and the offerings. 44-46.
38. The blessings which the Temple would bring to the land. 47: 1-12.
39. The allotment of the land to the people. 47: 13 to 48: 29.
40. The name of the new city. 48: 30-35.

(385.) What office did God commit to Ezekiel? (Ezek. 33: 2.) What had been true of many of Israel's rulers in past time? (34: 2-7.) What beautiful promise did that fact suggest? (34: 11-31.) How did the exiled people express their despair? (37: 11.) By what remarkable vision did the prophet comfort them? (37: 1-10.) What did he mean by the vision of the two sticks? (37: 15-23.) What was to happen to the aggressive nations who united to destroy Israel? (38, 39.) What was the theme of the closing chapters of the book of Ezekiel? (40-48.) What beautiful promise was to be realized through the completion of the Temple? (47: 1-12.) What significant name was the city to receive? (48: 35.)

(386.) **The People in Babylonia.** The colonies of exiles in Babylonia were, so far as the evidence goes, not badly located. They were given all reasonable freedom, controlled their own social affairs, and maintained to a remarkable degree their racial integrity. They yielded to the opportunities of that "land of traffic and of merchants" (Ezek. 17: 4), and gradually exchanged agricultural for commercial habits. The stories regarding Daniel and his companions and the office occupied later on by Nehemiah give indication that some of them even rose to high office. They were greatly tempted to throw themselves into the life of Babylonia and forget their race and religion. Many of them felt that Jehovah had abandoned His land and probably His people. They found it hard to get over the shock of the failure of hopes in which they had trusted. Under these circumstances Ezekiel and the loyal sons of Judah who supported him were of great importance. They comforted, cheered and inspired their people. They en-

couraged the habit of meeting on the Sabbath to read the prophetic and historical writings, a practice which soon developed the synagogue as an institution.

(387.) **Ezekiel's Messages of Comfort.** (33-39.) It is difficult to overestimate the services of Ezekiel at this crisis. In words that glow and stir he dealt with the people's disappointments and distresses. Chapters 33-39 report the substance of his appeals and exhortations in the years immediately following the fall of Jerusalem. The people were very despondent (37: 11b). They seemed to themselves to be nothing but dried bones. Ezekiel declared that out of a valley full of such bones Jehovah could create a great army of living men (37: 10-12), that Jehovah would restore them to Judah, give them a true leader (37: 24; 34: 23, 24) and eventually destroy their foes (38, 39). Such promises put new life and hope into the exiles.

(388.) **His Plan of the Restored Temple and State.** (40-48.) One of the boldest prophecies in the Old Testament is that implied by the Temple plan set forth in these chapters. When it was given out, the city and Temple were in ruins, the people were widely scattered, and the great controlling empire was at the height of its power. Yet the prophet gives the details of a Temple to be erected on the old site. For sublime confidence his act was only matched by Jeremiah's purchase of the fields at Anathoth (§ 363) just before Jerusalem's downfall. It was a challenge to despondency.

But these chapters embody more than an architect's dream. Ezekiel's plan for the Temple and land was really a scheme for promoting popular holiness. It laid down exact details of ritual, it emancipated the ecclesiastical authorities from contact with the civil ruler and from his caprice, — so often endured in preceding centuries,— by removing him and his palace and his private cemetery (43: 9) at least four miles from the Temple mountain (45: 1-8); it carefully guarded the sacred courts from intrusion, even keeping the people and their ruler out of the main court where the Temple proper and the

great altar stood. This provision of two courts is apparently an innovation. So long as the palace stood near the Temple there was no room for an outer court of the sort contemplated. As a matter of fact Ezekiel's idea was not carried out before Herod's time.

It was clearly Ezekiel's purpose to reduce personal initiative in religion to a minimum. A Jew was to stand at a distance and watch, while the proper officials performed the symbolic rites for him. This was a long move from the methods described in I Sam. 2: 12-17; 9:12-14, 22-24, or in Deut. 12: 13, 14, 27. Apparently Ezekiel and his friends saw so clearly the evil results of the old religious freedom that they hoped to crystallize into a very definite scheme of worship tendencies which had been developing ever since the building of the Temple. He permitted the priests of the former village sanctuaries, abolished at last by Josiah, to rank as Levites in the service of this Temple, but reserved the priesthood to the family of Zadok (44: 10-16).

Ezekiel's scheme, as outlined in these chapters, foreshadowed the stricter adjustments of the full Levitical law. He has properly been termed the father of Judaism. His was the master mind which guided the thinking of many earnest students of the religious problems of the race and gave an impulse toward the great and important transformation of the future days. His plan was not carried out when the second Temple was built, but his ideas prevailed.

(389.) **The Reign of Nebuchadrezzar.** The latest prophecy of Ezekiel was dated in 570 B.C., sixteen years after the fall of Jerusalem (29: 17-21). The long siege of Tyre by Nebuchadrezzar had come to a disappointing end in 573. Ezekiel declared that the king would recompense himself with Egypt. He accomplished this in 567, plundering the country, but not attempting to manage it. Whether Nebuchadrezzar was a really great organizer and campaigner is one of the puzzles of history. He had to do much fighting, and he held his vast empire together, but his heart of hearts was in Babylonia, its development,

Western Asia in the Babylonian Period, 560 B. C.

Western Asia under Darius, 500 B. C.

The Empire of Alexander the Great, 323 B. C.

Western Asia after the Battle of Ipsus, 301 B. C.

PLATE IV

beautification, and protection. In great works of building, irrigation, and defense he took the utmost delight. He found Babylonia a land ravaged by war and, as he put it, abandoned by the gods. He left it fertile, beautiful, prosperous, with a well-supported worship and apparently impregnable against attack from without. But he chose to lavish most of his energy upon the capital city, ignoring the other great centers of population, a measure which proved to be costly to his successors. He died in 562 after a long and brilliant reign of forty-two years.

3. The Closing Years of Chaldean Rule and the Rise of Cyrus. 562-545 B.C. (II Ki. 25:27-30.)

(390.) Between the latest prediction of Ezekiel in 570 B.C. and the prophetical anticipations of the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, which may be dated between 545 and 540 B.C., there is a quarter of a century unmarked by any specific event except the liberation of Jehoiachin by Amil-Marduk (Evil-Merodach), the son of Nebuchadrezzar, at his accession in 561 B.C. But these years were really full of activity.

(391.) **The Liberation of Jehoiachin.** The hapless royal captive who had been in prison for thirty-six years may not have long enjoyed his freedom during the disturbed days that followed. In any event, it was probably not a severe imprisonment that he had to endure, certainly not a solitary one. Zerubbabel, his son, was, at the end of the exile, a young man of distinction and authority, a recognized leader of his people, the embodiment of their kingly hopes. He was a choice young prince.

(392.) **The Literary Activity of the Exile.** It has been well said that the destruction of Jerusalem and the widespread dispersion of the exiles transformed them into a literary people. The habit of writing, care in literary form, and the production of artistic literature were Babylonian national traits, which influenced the Jews no less than the sheer necessities of communication and the preservation of valued writings. There were an

abundance of trained minds among the exiles who joyfully gave themselves up to the tasks incidental to the new needs of the nation. They were indefatigable in collecting, compiling and editing the earlier historical writings. At this period Deuteronomy, Judges, Samuel and Kings must have received their final touches. Quite probably Deuteronomy was united with JE (§ 310). After the exile they were available in the form with which we are familiar. The group of historians who did this work belonged to the " Deuteronomic " school (§ 326). They put a clear-cut stamp upon the historical records they handled. The books of Kings are their chief monument. Their peculiar and recognizable style, modelled after that of Deuteronomy, while losing the direct, story-telling charm of the days of heroic adventure, makes a deep impression by its earnestness and conviction. These men had been trained in a stern school to think seriously and to interpret for religious profit. They altered interesting narratives into instructive religious history.

At or before this time there was some revising and editing of the sermons of the nine prophets. No doubt floating fragments were attached to prophetical rolls in accordance with the best judgment of these devoted scholars. In case of such a curiously alternating group of predictions of doom and blessing as in Isaiah 28-33 and Micah 4-7 (§ 300) the insertion of the later passages may have been made at this time.

(393.) **The Holiness Code.** Another exceedingly important literary task of this period was that of collecting and codifying groups of laws and ordinances relating to Temple worship. These, where needful, were adapted to the future to which Ezekiel had encouraged all brave and godly men to look forward. Ezekiel's own little code (40-48) was an inspiration to such enterprise. It is generally held by scholars that the fine group of laws found in Leviticus 17-26, commonly known as the Holiness Code, because of its emphasis upon ceremonial and moral holiness and its frequent reference to the holiness of Jehovah, antedated Ezekiel slightly. This code is closely

related to Deuteronomy in spirit and may well belong to the very earliest stages of the exile.

(394.) **The Successors of Nebuchadrezzar.** When the great Nebuchadrezzar died, his dynasty quickly passed. He was succeeded by his son, Amil-Marduk, "servant of Marduk," whose reign lasted but two years and ended tragically. He was slain by his brother-in-law, Nergal-sharezer, who succeeded him. This king may have been the official mentioned in Jer. 39:3, 13, who directed the final disposition of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. If so his brief but vigorous reign of four years (559-556 B.C.) may have ended so quickly because of his age. He left the throne to his young son, Labasi-Marduk, who reigned but nine months, when he fell a victim to a conspiracy of nobles. They placed on the throne, as the founder of the third Chaldean dynasty, Nabuna'id, who ruled until the downfall of the empire (556-539), a period of seventeen years. He had two marked characteristics, piety of the Babylonian sort and antiquarian zeal. He loved above all other pursuits to explore ancient ruins, determine their date, renew temples and honor the gods. These were not the traits most needed in its official head by his empire at this time. Probably he left the actual management of the kingdom very largely to his son, Belshazzar, who is mistakenly but not unnaturally called "the King" in Daniel 5.

(395.) **The Rise of Cyrus.** Under the policy of friendship and tolerance established by Cyaxares the Mede and Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadrezzar, the Medes had gained control of all northwestern Asia as far as the river Halys. Alyattes III, the king of Lydia, had forced him to stop at that point in 585 B.C. Thereafter the three nations — Babylonia, Media, and Lydia — controlled between them all the western half of Asia.* In 560 Alyattes was succeeded by Croesus and in 584 Cyaxares was succeeded by Astyages, who was possibly not his son but a Scythian. But the real inheritor of these three empires was destined to be a fourth man,

*For this division of Western Asia see the map facing page 218.

Cyrus the Persian. He was born about 590 B.C. and first emerges into history as king of the little state of Anshan in southern Elam. For a reason which is obscure, perhaps because he represented the true Iranians against a usurper, a war arose between Cyrus and Astyages. Before the actual battle began the troops of the latter rebelled and went over to Cyrus, taking their king along as a prisoner. Thus without a blow Cyrus became the ruler of the Median empire in 549 B.C. Within two years he had crossed the Tigris and conquered Mesopotamia. In the following year he continued westward to meet the approach of Croesus, who wished to crush him. In a quick campaign he defeated Croesus, captured Sardis, which became the permanent center of Persian power in the west, and ultimately, through his generals, conquered the Greek cities and colonies of Asia Minor. Meanwhile he soon made himself recognized head of all the Iranian peoples. In three years he had made his empire range from the Indus to the Aegean. The reputation for generosity and clemency to the conquered which he won in these campaigns assisted his further successes.

4. Prophetical Foreshadowings of Babylon's Fate and of its Significance for Israel and for the World. Between 550 and 538 C.B. (Isaiah 13, 14; 21:1-10; Jeremiah 50, 51; Isaiah 40-55.)

(396.) These prophetic passages bear clearly upon the approaching downfall of Babylon.

Doom Prophecies of Babylon's Fall.

The well-merited doom of Babylon and her king at hand. Isa. 13: 2 to 14: 23.

Babylon, the oppressor, is to receive her rich deserts. Jer. 50: 2 to 51: 58.

What Babylon's fall will mean to Judah (v. 10). Isa. 21: 1-10.

The Exiles' Book of Consolation: The Omnipotent Jehovah is about to deliver His People.

1. The joyful tidings: redemption is near. 40: 1-11.
2. The omnipotent and incomparable Jehovah assures it. 40: 12-31.
3. His sovereignty is shown in history. 41.

4. Israel is Jehovah's Servant. 42: 1-9.
5. Let the world rejoice; Jehovah is eager to act. 42: 10-17.
6. Israel does not appreciate Jehovah's past dealings. 42: 18-25.
7. But He loves her and will bring her scattered children home. 43: 1-7.
8. Israel has the splendid task of witnessing to the world concerning Jehovah. 43: 8-13.
9. The new deliverance, more wonderful than that from Egypt, is not due to Israel's merits, but to Jehovah's goodness and grace. 43: 14 to 44: 5.
10. Jehovah's uniqueness and the folly of idolatry. 44: 6-23.
11. Jehovah, the world's Director, will give victory, riches and success to His Anointed. 44: 24 to 45: 13.
12. His real objective is the collapse of idolatry and the salvation of the world. 45: 14-25.
13. Babylon's hand-made gods are carried here and there; Jehovah, the incomparable, sustains His people always. 46.
14. Babylon, the haughty queen of the nations, is doomed; neither magicians, wise men nor astrologers can save her. 47.
15. Recapitulation: the fulfilment of earlier predictions should give confidence and obedience; the Eternal is summoning His servant for service; let Israel be faithful; go forth. 48.

The Exiles' Book of Consolation: Glory and Privilege will come to Zion through her Sufferings.

1. The Servant, despondent because of exile, has a great destiny. 49: 1-6.
2. His return to Judea will impress the world leaders. 49: 7-13.
3. Devastated Zion shall be populated and beautified. 49: 14-21.
4. At the word of Jehovah, the omnipotent, persistently faithful One, the nations will bring Israel back home. 49: 22 to 50: 3.
5. The vigilant, docile Servant endures suffering with confidence. 50: 4-11.
6. Faithful Israel may remember that her religion is to be universal and permanent, and that deliverance is sure. 51: 1-16.
7. O, humiliated Jerusalem, prepare to welcome Jehovah and depart from Babylon. 51: 17 to 52: 12.
8. The undeserved martyrdom of the Servant and his glorious exaltation through death. 52: 13 to 53: 12.
9. The future Jerusalem to be large, populous, beautiful and secure. 54.
10. Let every one be eager to share the great blessings which are in store; Jehovah's gracious purpose is about to be fulfilled. 55.

(397.) How is Babylon described in the doom prophecy of Isaiah 13: 2 to 14: 23? (13: 19; 14: 4.) Who was to be the invader? (13: 17.) How were they to deal with Babylon? (13: 12, 14-22; 14: 21-23.) How are the invaders described in Jer. 50, 51? (Jer. 50: 3, 9, 29, 41-42.) Under what interesting figure is Israel described? (Jer. 50: 17; 51: 34.) Put together the descriptions of Babylon (50: 35-38, 12, 13, 23; 51: 7, 13, 21-23, 25,

30-32, 33, etc). What great thoughts about Jehovah are found in Isa. 40-48? What do these chapters declare about the significance of Babylon's fall to the Jews? Under what significant name are the Jews referred to? What is Jehovah's purpose in restoring His people? How is the work of the Servant described in 49-55?

(398.) **Announcements of Babylon's Fall.** It is natural to date the vigorous doom prophecies of Isaiah 13, 14, 21, and Jeremiah 50, 51, between 548 and 540 B.C. They mention quite specifically the destruction of Babylon by the Medes. The lyrical splendor of many passages in these prophecies is remarkable, as well as their definite statements. The writers dwell on the details of warfare; yet the fate of Babylon is viewed as the natural conclusion of the four centuries of historic tyranny, when one lion after another made a meal of the hunted sheep, Israel (Jer. 50: 17). The greatness of the catastrophe is what the writers emphasize. A spirit of bitterness and revenge is dominant. The absolute ruin of Babylonia (Isa. 14: 22, 23), however, stands over against the restoration of the Jewish nation. (14: 1, 2.)

(399.) **Isaiah 40 to 66.** With the last decade of the Babylonian exile, we reach the period when the predictions contained in these twenty-seven chapters of the book of Isaiah begin to find their historical fulfilment. To the Jewish people, living in this age or later, these words were profoundly significant. To those living at any earlier time they would have been destitute of force. These chapters fall into three fairly recognizable sections, 40-48, 49-55 and 56-66. The first section emphasizes the thought that the omnipotent Jehovah is ready to deliver His people from exile; the second describes the Servant of Jehovah and the future glory of Zion; the third deals with the character which must prevail in the Judea that Jehovah will bless.

The proper dating of these chapters is a perplexing question. It is quite generally agreed that chapters 56-66 find their natural setting in the decades beween the building of the second Temple and the work of

Nehemiah and Ezra and probably not long before Nehemiah appeared. Malachi represents similar conditions and, probably, about the same date. Regarding the proper background of chapters 40-55 expert opinion is divided. Some hold that these chapters betray a Palestinian background, that the specific references to Cyrus (44:28; 45:1) and to Babylon and the Chaldeans (48:14, 20) are evident insertions, that other general references to an invader (41:25; 45:13; 46:11) may be better explained as referring to Israel, and that the inspiring appeals and illustrations follow appropriately and in culminating fashion after such prophecies as Zechariah 2 and 8 (§ 415). Other students assert quite as positively that the background of these chapters is Babylonia, the doomed empire (47:5-7) and her gods (46:1), that Judea (Zion or Jerusalem) lies waste and needs rebuilding (44:28; 49:14-21; 51:19; 52:7-12; 54) and that Cyrus is almost certainly referred to in such passages as 41:25; 45:1, 13; 46:11,* even supposing that the words "to Cyrus" in 45:1 are a gloss. It is not supremely important to decide one way or the other. In view, however, of the sweepingly enthusiastic conviction given such constant expression, it would seem highly probable that the last decade of the exile accounts most satisfactorily for the prophetic conviction that Jehovah's plans are in process of speedy execution.

(400.) **Israel's Jehovah and His Long-Cherished Purpose.** (Isa. 40-48.) With these wonderful chapters we begin to realize the ripened fruitage of the thinking of the prophets. They are unsurpassed in sublimity, impressiveness or spirituality. The Jehovah of these chapters is the omnipotent sovereign of the world, but also the tender and gracious guardian of His people Israel, who now is ready to execute His long-cherished plan for the world through His servant Israel. He, the ruler of the universe, exhibiting His glory in nature and in history alike, is preparing to set His people free. His

*The references quoted in Appendix II will state each argument completely.

agent will be a conquering hero from the north, who will execute His judgment against Babylon. Israel's deliverance will be the greatest event in her history. It is sure because the power of Jehovah is behind it, the might of the incomparable Jehovah, in comparison with whom the idols of Babylon are not to be mentioned, those idols which can be made to order, and have to be carried around. Jehovah is bringing this deliverance to pass in order that Israel, now so apathetic, so blinded by her sorrows, may be impelled to proclaim His character and establish His worship throughout the whole inhabited world.

These chapters are full of wonderful passages and beautiful conceptions. There are a few passages (48: 1*b*, 4, 5*b*, 8*b*) which represent Israel as obstinate, insincere, treacherous, idolatrous. These charges seem surprising. Quite possibly they are additions of a later period. If this is true, they strengthen the argument that the original prophecy belonged to the close of the exile.

(401.) **Israel, the Servant of Jehovah.** In these chapters the crowning theme of Old Testament revelation is adequately developed, the sufferings and destiny of the Servant of Jehovah. There are four passages relating to the Servant, 42: 1-7; 49: 1-6; 50: 4-9, and 52: 13 to 53: 12. These songs, for such they are, unfold a gradually broadening conception of the idea. The first describes his mission and the unobtrusive and persistent way in which he will achieve it. In the second (49: 1-6) the Servant, with an active sense of his divine call, equipment and protection, sees through his temporary failure to his ultimately successful task. The third (50: 4-9) elaborates the sorrow and indignity which he has had to endure (Ps. 129: 3), but sets over against it his invincible faith in God and assurance of the final triumph of his cause. The climax of the conception is reached with the fourth song (52: 13 to 53: 12), which embodies in one complete and coherent picture the character, sufferings and destiny of the Servant. Reverent homage will eventually be paid to him (52: 13-15).

His life will, however, be a martyrdom. Stripped of health, possessions and reputation, the victim of disease, injustice and derision, misunderstanding will follow him to a dishonored grave. Yet his sufferings he will endure obediently and without complaint, that many may be made righteous. This is Jehovah's doing, in order that the wicked in heart may be conscience-smitten and finally won to God, accepting Jehovah's salvation. Then shall great exaltation and glory be given to His Servant.

This interpretation of suffering is profound. The average Jew believed that suffering as a rule was an indication of sin. Here the suffering of one who was innocent is explained as redemptive in purpose, accepted by the Servant as imposed by Jehovah for the sake of others. Such suffering, when recognized as undeserved and voluntary, is an invincible force for turning the wicked from a defiant attitude to one of penitence.

It seems quite clear that the great prophet had in mind as the Servant, not any individual of his race, like Jeremiah or Zerubbabel, as some have believed, but Israel. The nation is so termed, explicitly, in chapters 40-48 (41:8; 44:1, 21; 45:4). In the Servant poems, however, Israel is *ideally* conceived. "They are not a description, but a splendidly original interpretation of her sufferings and destiny." The nation, as a matter of fact, never did fulfil this program. It found its only satisfying interpretation and real fulfilment in the sacrificial life and death of our Lord. Prophecy could not create a greater ideal; One alone could give it the significance of life.

(402.) **Israel's High Destiny and her Future Glory.** The remaining sections of Isaiah, 49-55, to which it is quite possible that 60-62 should be added, center attention upon Israel herself and upon Zion, the holy city. With language of great beauty, the prophet describes the wonderful work before the nation, and the glory into which she will soon be introduced. It seems too much for the disappointed people to credit (49:14), but the prophet assures them of Jehovah's tender love, which

never forgets (49: 15, 16). Jerusalem will be astonished at the number of her children (49: 21). She will be beautiful, joyous, and absolutely safe (54). Like little children, the people will be tenderly taken home (49: 22), because Jehovah is again ready to show His goodness and because His power is adequate (54: 8) to every need. The only condition is responsiveness (55). The repentant people are to enter at once upon their glorious task of witnessing for Jehovah (55: 4).

(403.) **The Culmination of Prophetic Thinking.** Nothing in the Old Testament surpasses the breadth, the insight and forcefulness of chapters 40-55 of the book of Isaiah. Its nine great ideas stand out as comprehensive and final statements of the conceptions whose growth we have been following: (1) the omnipotent Jehovah, ruler of the physical and moral universe, guardian of the affairs of men, directing all history; (2) His great world-plan which had been slowly shaping human affairs in the past and had now come to a time of manifestation; (3) His free use of world rulers as His tools to execute His will; (4) His gracious love for Israel, very tender and persistent, rejoicing over the opportunity to offer full forgiveness to His erring people, and to take them into partnership again; (5) His eternal purpose for Israel that she should do a great, missionary service; (6) His significant treatment of godly Israel, the "remnant," whereby they were to become fitted to evangelize the world; (7) the great destiny He had in store for the true Israel; (8) the speedy return to Judah of the people to take up their great task, and (9) the great and impressive glory that the future had in store for Israel, amazing the whole world. In these chapters we have clearly developed the philosophy of Israel's history. To a reverent mind the experiences, good and bad, trifling and tremendous, found a satisfying explanation. Israel had been chosen and trained by Jehovah in order that the whole world might eventually fall in worshipful devotion at His feet.

5. The Capture of Babylon, Inauguration of the Persian Empire and Restoration of the Altar Service at Jerusalem. 539-537 B.C. (Daniel 5; Ezra 1; 3:2 to 4:5; 5:13-15; 6:3-5).

(404.) The actual capture of Babylon is assumed both by Ezra 1:1 and Daniel 5:30. For reliable information regarding the catastrophe and the events which led up to it, there are available the inscriptions of Nabuna'id and Cyrus. The book of Ezra describes what happened after the surrender of the city and empire.

According to the narrative in the book of Daniel, who was in command at Babylon on the night before the fall of that city? (Dan. 5:1.) Who was the real ruler of the empire? (§ 394.) Who was the ruler of the new empire? (Ezra 1:1.) What three-fold permission did Cyrus give to the Jews whom he found in Babylonia? (Ezra 1:3-4.) What did those who availed themselves of this permission take with them to Judah? (1:6-11; 5:13-15.) Who were numbered among these volunteers? (1:5.) What were the exact details of the decree of Cyrus concerning the new Temple? (6:2-5.) When the returning exiles reached Jerusalem, what did they proceed to do? (3:2, 3.) What preparations did they make for building the Temple? (3:7.) With what ceremonies did they lay its foundations? (3:8-11.) What double effect was produced upon the onlookers? (3:12, 13.) What request was made to the leaders which they refused? (4:1-3.) What was the outcome of this refusal? (4:4, 5.)

(405.) **The Closing Years of the Chaldean Empire.** It seems incredible that Nabuna'id, the last king of Babylonia, should have shown so little interest in the affairs of his empire, while Cyrus was a possible foe. Perhaps he regarded Babylon as impregnable and preferred to leave affairs of state to his vigorous son, Belshazzar. He neither built new fortifications nor developed armies of defense. He ignored his part in the great feast of the new year, the one annual, solemn, official duty of the sovereign. He spent his time between 547 and 539 B.C. in his favorite antiquarian researches.

During these same years Cyrus made no real attempt to attack the Chaldean empire, but contented himself, in the main, with completing the conquest of Asia Minor. In 539 B.C., however, Cyrus advanced for the conquest of Babylonia. This movement roused Nabuna'id, who not only held the New Year's festival with appropriate stateliness, but proceeded to bring the important deities of his provincial cities to Babylon, that he might have an ample force of protectors! It was a procedure to arouse the sarcasm of a prophet of Jehovah (Isa. 46: 1-11) and caused the bitter resentment of the cities whose gods had been taken away. These divinities did not prevent Cyrus from advancing, winning several skirmishes and one battle. Sippar was taken without a blow and, two days later, the van of the army of Cyrus entered Babylon, whose gates, probably through treachery, were opened to admit it. Nabuna'id was captured, and the city welcomed Cyrus. Thus closed the Semitic dominance, which in one form or another had widely influenced the Western Asiatic world since the days of Hammurabi (§ 23), for nearly two millennia. With the fall of the imperial city, the empire passed without contention under the rule of Cyrus. He dignified it by recognizing its independent status as a co-ordinate kingdom and by having his son, Cambyses, consecrated as his heir by the priests of Marduk. Thus the ruling force in Syria and Palestine became Aryan rather than Semitic for the next millennium.

(406.) **The Policy of the New Regime.** Cyrus had wonderful skill in the management of peoples. Xenophon declared that he could rule a world as easily as any other king could manage his particular realm. He accomplished this by the magic of undeniable power used in friendly fashion. He set himself to assure a conquered foe of his own desire to convert him into an ally. In particular, he was accustomed to treat the religion of such a people with considerateness. Consequently, Cyrus had few or no rebellions. His great empire was full of contented peoples, who willingly lived their lives submissive to

BABYLONIAN EMPIRE
PERSIAN EMPIRE
ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
EUXINE SEA
GASPIAN SEA
GREAT SEA
PERSIAN GULF
ARABIAN SEA
THRACIA
MACEDONIA
EPIRUS
THESSALIA
HELLAS
AEGEAN SEA
PROPONTIS
BITHYNIA
PAPHLAGONIA
MYSIA
LYDIA
PHRYGIA
CAPPADOCIA
CARIA
PISIDIA
LYCIA
PAMPHYLIA
CILICIA
ARMENIA
CRETA
CYPRUS
SYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
ASSYRIA
BABYLONIA
SUSIANA
MEDIA
HYRCANIA
PARTHIA
ARIA
DRANGIANA
ARACHOSIA
CARMANIA
PERSIS
GEDROSIA
LOWER INDIA
UPPER INDIA
BACTRIA
SOGDIANA
LAKE OXIANUS
Libya
EGYPT
ARABIA
Alexandria
Memphis
Thebes
Syene
Abdus
Temple of Ammon
Pelusium
Petra
Gaza
Jerusalem
Joppa
Samaria
Salt Sea
Damascus
Tyre
Sidon
Byblus
Tadmor
Hamath
Thapsacus
Issus
Nisibis
Nineveh
Arbela
Babylon
Eubatana
Susa
Persepolis
Pasargadae
Carmana
Rhagae
Hyrcania
Lake Thospitis
Lake Matianus
Lake Oxus
Arius Lake
Ister
Iris
Halys
Sangarius
Euphrates
Tigris
Orontes
Pallacopas Canal
Choaspes
Sitacus
Indus
Jaxartes
Oxus
Margus
Arius
Sarnus
Amanus
Araxes
Longitude East from Greenwich
THE M-N CO.

his firm but just authority, which contrasted so keenly with the barbaric use of power by his predecessors.

This quality of Cyrus was manifested at once after the conquest of Babylonia. He gave prompt permission to the captive peoples found there to return to their homes. As far as possible, he sent back their national deities, which had been transported to Babylonia by earlier conquerors. The decree he made concerning the Jewish temple is given in part in the Aramaic document quoted in Ezra 6: 1-5. Other details are given freely in Ezra 1. Evidently Cyrus gave specific permission to the Jews in Babylonia to return to Judea and to rebuild their national sanctuary, giving orders at the same time that they should be assisted and that the Temple vessels at Babylon should be restored. Cyrus appointed Sheshbazzar, an imperial officer (Ezra 5: 14-16), to be in charge of the movement to Judea. It is not easy, in view of the few details given, to be absolutely certain regarding the exact facts. Ezra 2 states that about forty thousand Jews responded to the invitation of Cyrus. But the list given there is exactly repeated in Neh. 7: 5-73, where it seems to be a census of the community a century later. So far as one may judge from the events which took place, there was a relatively small response in 537 B.C. Those who did go had choice leadership, Joshua, the lineal heir of the priestly line of Zadok, and Zerubbabel, a descendant of the royal family of Judah. Their families, retainers, friends and a small company of very loyal Jews, priests, Levites and people made up the caravan. Perhaps these were but the vanguard of the movement which was expected to follow. Quite as probably the freedom, attractiveness, opportunities and attachments of Babylonia tied the great mass of Jews to their homes there. Moreover, it was not a part of God's purpose to execute the splendid hopes of Isaiah 40-55 in the way anticipated by that great evangelist. The Israel scattered over the wide world was to become a leavening influence and a teaching agency of far greater practical value than the Israel

in Judea. Through Israel abroad the divine plan was to be set going. At first, however, the limited response to the sudden opportunity to return and build up the waste places of Judea may have seemed disheartening to the patriotic souls who adventured themselves under Zerubbabel.

(407.) **The Restoration of the Altar Service on the Temple Mountain.** 536 B.C. We know from Jer. 41:5 that occasional attempts had been made to offer sacrifices on the sacred spot where the Temple had stood, but in all probability these were sporadic. Ezekiel (33:24, 25) accuses those living in Judea during the exile of being idolatrous. But the pilgrims from Babylonia were eager to renew a regular form of public worship. To them it was the great immediate task before them. They repaired the altar of burnt offering and resumed the regular morning and evening oblations. They observed the feast of Tabernacles and other feasts and established a regular system of worship (Ezra 3:5, 6; Haggai 2:10-16; Zech. 3; 7:2, 3.)

(408.) **The Laying of the Temple Foundations.** There is a marked difference of opinion among scholars concerning this event. The compiler of the book of Ezra implies (3:7) that the newly returned exiles engaged masons and carpenters for building the Temple, and Phoenicians to bring down to them the timber they required. He also is authority for the statement that in the second year (536 B.C.) the foundation stone of the Temple was laid with due ceremony, and to the mingled joy and grief of the people, as they saw the realization of their hopes, or thought of the past (3:8-13). He further states that the "adversaries," by whom he seems to mean Samaritans, demanded a share in the proceedings. When this was rather curtly refused by the leaders, Joshua and Zerubbabel, the "people of the land," blocked the building of the Temple, perhaps by preventing the importation of the needed timber, for sixteen years (4:1-5, 24). Ezra 4:6-23 is a passage which deals with

similar opposition in later reigns. It has nothing to do with the episode in the days of Cyrus.

There are many good authorities who think that the contemporary statements of Haggai and Zechariah contradict these statements of the Chronicler. No conclusive arguments can be formulated in the vagueness and the scantiness of the data. But it does not seem unreasonable to follow the general judgment of the Chronicler, even though his work was done 250 years later. The people who could be appealed to for a work of reform were not the humble peasantry, left scornfully on their farms by Nebuchadrezzar, and characterized by Ezekiel as half heathenish in their religious life. The work of reconstruction must have needed a small community at least of those whose ideals were fine and whose plans were definite.

6. The Appeals of the Prophets, Haggai and Zechariah, to their Countrymen to Build the Temple. 520-516 B.C. (Ezra 5:1, 2; Haggai; Zechariah 1-8.)

(409.) These passages show how these two prophets, seizing an opportunity, urged their countrymen to build the second Temple, and encouraged them to make it all that it ought to be.

The Exhortations of Haggai.

1. September, 520 B.C. "Arise and build the Temple." 1.
2. November, 520 B.C. "This Temple will far exceed the former one in glory." 2: 1-9.
3. January, 519 B.C. "So long as the Temple is unbuilt, you are tainted with guilt." 2: 10-19.
4. January, 519 B.C. "O, Zerubbabel, you shall be Jehovah's vicegerent." 2: 20-23.

The Visions and Sermons of Zechariah.

1. December, 520 B.C. A call to repentance. "Be not like your fathers." 1: 1-6.
2. February, 519 B.C. *First Vision.* The four horsemen. "The world is at peace." *Second Vision.* The four horns. "For each one there is a destroyer." *Third Vision.* The man with the measuring line. "No use for a survey. Jerusalem will spread over all bounds." *Fourth Vision.* The high priest cleansed. "The guilt of the people is forgiven." *Fifth Vision.* The candelabrum and

the two olive trees. "Joshua and Zerubbabel are men of Jehovah's spirit." *Sixth Vision.* The flying roll. "No thief or perjurer in Israel." *Seventh Vision.* The woman in the jar. "Madame Wickedness belongs in Babylonia." *Eighth Vision.* The four chariots. "My messengers will execute my purpose in the Persian empire." 1:7 to 6:8.

3. Make a crown for the future ruler with whom Joshua shall be at peace. 6:9-15.
4. January, 518 B.C. "Whether you feast or fast, do deeds of justice and mercy." 7.
5. Ten expressions of brightness and hope for the future Jerusalem. 8.

(410.) In whose reign over Persia was the second Temple begun? (Ezra 4:24.) What two prophets were instrumental in stirring up the people? (5:1.) Who were still the leaders of the community? (5:2.) When did Haggai begin? (Hag. 1:1.) How frequently did he appeal to the people? (Hag. 1:1, 3, 13; 2:1, 10, 20.) What condition of the people did his words imply? (Hag. 1:4-6, 9-11.) How did they respond to his call to arise and build? (1:12-15.) What did he promise with regard to the second Temple? (2:7-9.) How did he explain the lack of material blessings? (2:14.) What did he predict regarding Zerubbabel? (2:21-23.) What action did Zechariah urge upon the people? (Zech. 1:1-6.) Name each one of the eight visions, and indicate what significance each one had for the Temple. (1:7 to 6:8.) What did he urge to do with the gifts of the faithful in Babylonia? (6:9-15.) When asked about the propriety of fasting by the deputation, what did he reply? (7:1-7.) What beautiful promises did he express regarding Jerusalem? (8:1-8.) What was his promise for Judea? (8:9-15, 20-23.) What were the conditions? (8:16-19.)

(411.) **The Sixteen Years' Interval.** After a brilliant reign of nine years over his vast empire, Cyrus died in 529 B.C., leaving it to his son, Cambyses. The new king inherited his father's love of conquest, but lacked his statesmanlike qualities. He added Egypt to his realm in 525, just after the death of the great Amasis, but needlessly and wantonly maddened the conquered people, who rejoiced over the misfortunes which attended his later Ethiopian ventures. Returning homeward in

522, Cambyses was met by the news that Bardiya, his younger brother, was seated on the throne of Persia. In a fit of drunken rage, he took his own life. That brother he had murdered, and the occupant of the throne was really a pretender. After some months, a group of noble conspirators, who became convinced that their sovereign was an impostor, broke into the royal palace, slew the king, and elected one of their own number, Darius, as sovereign. Darius claimed to be of royal blood, and married Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus. Nevertheless, he was not really a rightful heir, and the beginning of his reign was signalized by revolts on every side. Pretenders were the fashion. Darius had to reconquer Susiana, Babylon, Persia, Media, Assyria, Armenia, Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, and Dacia. It took nineteen hard-fought, although victorious, battles against nine pretenders, before his authority was fully established in the spring of 519 B.C. For some time, the integrity of the empire was much in question.

(412.) **The Policy of Darius.** King Darius,* who directed the destinies of Asia for thirty-six years (521-485 B.C.) was a stern but just ruler, very ambitious but not vengeful. He organized the Persian empire on new principles. Instead of permitting each subject state to manage itself under its own dynasty, he preferred the policy of having a royal appointee as governor. His vast realm was divided into districts with satraps in responsible charge. Thus the vast realm was kept in order and responsive to one single will.

(413.) **The Appeal of the Prophet Haggai to the Judeans to Build the Temple.** There can be no doubt that the political upheavals which attended the beginning of the reign of Darius aroused the prophets of Judah to a sense of sudden opportunity and possible freedom. There seemed little hope that even Darius could unify and control the vast dominion to which he aspired. The "shaking of the nations" seemed to open the way for the realization of Judah's hopes as never before.

*For the vast extent of his empire see the map facing page 230.

The immediate task for Judah to undertake was to rebuild the Temple and deserve divine favor. The great stones were doubtless right at hand, and many of them in place. The upper walls, the roof and porch, and the interior fittings needed to be supplied. With a summons like a trumpet-call, Haggai appealed to the people in September, 520, urging them to "arise and build." They responded with a will, whereupon he gave a brief, encouraging word (1:13). Some seven weeks later, when the visible results seemed all too pitiful, especially to some of the older people who dwelt fondly on the splendor of the former Temple, Haggai came forward with another encouraging word, "Are you belittling this structure? The whole world will contribute toward making it more glorious than the former Temple." (2:1-9.) Two months later, by means of replies drawn cleverly from the priests on two points of ceremonial observance, Haggai taught the people that so long as the Temple remained unbuilt their worldliness rendered them unholy and their offerings unacceptable. (2:10-19.) On the same day he reiterated the prediction of the overthrow of world powers and of the security and distinction assured to Zerubbabel. (2:20-23.)

Evidently Haggai believed that the disturbances among the nations would spread and would, perhaps, issue in an overthrow of the heathen powers. He thought of the Temple as the religious center of the world, peoples pouring their gifts into it, and making it more glorious than Solomon's Temple. He expected that through Zerubbabel would be fulfilled the patriotic hopes of Israel. We know little about Haggai except his directness. He had no poetical soul, but he dealt with a real situation in a fine, large and effective way.

(414.) **The Book of Zechariah.** The fourteen chapters included in the book of the prophet Zechariah fall clearly into two distinct sections, chapters 1 to 8, and chapters 9 to 14. The former group were written by the young contemporary of Haggai and give abundant and indisputable evidences of their authenticity and date. The

remainder of the book seems to deal with a very different situation, and to breathe another spirit. One section is almost wholly concerned with the Temple, the other makes no allusion to it. They use different phraseologies, discuss different interests and move in a different circle of ideas. The age which seems clearly reflected by chapters 9-14 is the Greek age.

(415.) **Zechariah's Prophecies in Relation to the Second Temple.** (Zech. 1-8.) The predictions found in chapters 1-8 of the book of Zechariah belong to the same period as those of Haggai, but are of a much higher order. Zechariah was not only an apt pupil of the great prophets who preceded him, but a man with a genius all his own. He voiced the lessons of the past, but also interpreted to the public conscience the situation of his own day in a daring and impressive manner. He is as direct and simple as Haggai in his first appeal for repentance. (1:1-6.) When he used imagery, its elaborateness did not result in lack of effectiveness. The eight visions of chapters 1:7 to 6:8 reward careful study. The first two and the last deal with the relations of Israel with the great world without. Zechariah seemed to delight in emphasizing the security which Israel should feel with Jehovah as a protector and supporter. The messengers report the earth at rest. (1:8-11.) The "shaking" is over. Darius is victorious. Israel almost wonders whether Jehovah has not forgotten His people. So the prophet sets forth His tender and ardent love (1:14). Every promise would be kept (1:16, 17). Again the thought comes up of Israel's oppressive foes (1:19). But for every horn there is a brawny man with a sledge, ready at Jehovah's word to smash it into bits. Again thoughts of the persistency of oppression suggest Jehovah's power, ready to manifest itself in any quarter at His will (6:1-8). This conviction of the absolute adequacy of Jehovah's power, should He exert it, is a marked characteristic of the age. Alongside of it in Zechariah's visions is the assurance of the fulfilment of Jehovah's promises. The surveyor is seen about to take measurements for the

rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem. The word to him is that Jerusalem's population will far outrun any walls, and Jehovah is wall enough. (2: 1-5.) A declaration of equal cheer is that Zerubbabel and Joshua are under the watchful protection of Jehovah and will be filled by His spirit (4).* A third series of visions lays stress upon the moral conditions which the new Temple should greet. The people are forgiven, cleansed and their religious leader honored (3). Sinners will be exterminated (5: 1-4) in the Judah of the future; and Madame Wickedness will be shipped off to Babylonia, where she belongs. (5: 5-11.) These prophetic words are as clear-cut and forceful as any found anywhere. They are worthily buttressed by the remaining passages: the symbolic prediction (6: 9-15) that Zerubbabel would successfully complete the Temple and that he and Joshua would then rule side by side, the one as the Messianic king, the other as priest;† the tender and glowing rhapsody (2: 6-13) over Zion, the "apple" of Jehovah's eye, whom He watches devotedly; the noble reply (7) to the question about fasting, which went to the very heart of practical religion;‡ and the series of splendid promises (8), inspired by the rapidly completing Temple, concerning the Jerusalem of the future, its happy people, and its widespread religious influence.

Whether the ideas of Zechariah fit worthily into the thinking of an age inspired and almost enthralled by the majestic ideals of Isaiah 40-55, each student can judge for himself. It is evident that the two prophets of the

* It is quite generally agreed today that the text of this chapter has become displaced. To get the right order read verses 1-5, 6*a* (to "saying"), 10*b* (after "Zerubbabel") to 14 (perhaps omitting 12), 6*b* to 10*a*. This arrangement makes good sense and gives a suitable conclusion.

† The text of verses 11-13 requires some amendment. Verses 12 and 13*a*, *b*, almost certainly refer to Zerubbabel, while 13*c* refers to Joshua, and 13*d* to the two. Either Zerubbabel's name should be inserted in 11*b* or it should be substituted for the name of Joshua.

‡ Practically all students of the prophecies of Zechariah agree that verse 8 is a gloss and that verses 9 and 10 explain verse 7. Chapter 7 is one uninterrupted section.

rebuilding of the Temple were filled with a noble idealism that painted the immediate future in glowing colors.

7. The Rapid Completion and Dedication of the Second Temple. 516 B.C. (Ezra 5: 2 to 6: 22.)

(416.) This passage brings before us the attempts made to prevent the work upon the Temple, their failure, its final completion, and the joyous dedication.

What four leaders co-operated in pushing along the rebuilding of the Temple? (5: 1, 2.) What Persian officials interfered and how? (5: 3.) What means did the governor of " Beyond-River " take to have the question of the legitimacy of the work settled? (5: 6-16.) What proof did he request the king to find? (5: 17.) What was found during the search? (6: 1, 2.) What was the substance of the decree of Darius? (6: 6-12.) What was the result of it? (6: 13-14.) When was the Temple completed? (6: 15.) What was the most significant detail at the dedication? (6: 16-18.) What great national festival was celebrated? (6: 19-22.)

(417.) **The Suspicious Governor and Generous Sovereign.** The story of Tattenai's interposition and of the attitude of Darius is taken from a trustworthy source, written in Aramaic. It bears upon its face the stamp of truth. The new governor of the province of Beyond-River, the country west of the Euphrates, heard of what was going on in the southern part of his district, and naturally determined to examine into it. The responsible Judean leaders gave their names and declared truthfully that they were doing what Cyrus had given them permission to do, so many years before, requesting that the matter be looked up, while they continued at the work. Darius caused a search to be made, found the original decree, and then issued one of his own, couched in generous terms. Tattenai was to offer no further opposition to the completion of the Temple. Moreover, he was to help them in the task, and to assist in providing for the daily offerings.

Darius, the Great, was renowned for his fair-minded-

ness. He could be stern and unyielding, but he delighted in keeping a sacred obligation. When the original decree was found in the royal archives and he felt certain that it had not been forfeited by misconduct, he both confirmed it and added graciously to it.

(418.) **The New Temple.** The new Temple was probably in the matter of size and general arrangements a duplicate of the old one. It had a Holy Place, and a Holy of Holies. In front of the former was a porch, and before that the great Altar of Burnt Offering. Against the three sidesof the Temple were store-chambers (Ezek. 8: 29; Neh. 10: 37, 38; 13: 4, 7-9), as in case of the former one.

The question of its furniture at the outset is perplexing. The Holy of Holies had no Ark, for it had disappeared. In the Holy Place stood the Table of Shewbread. Instead of several candlesticks one seven-branched candelabrum was used. An altar of incense stood eventually in the Holy Place, but how soon it was introduced is uncertain. The pillars and the great laver with its bronze bulls were gone. The new Temple was plainer than the old one, but it had one great advantage in its solitariness. It crowned Mt. Zion; no other building disputed its supremacy.

(419.) **Its Significance.** Whether this Temple was glorious to the eye or not, it was of untold value to the Jewish people. It meant the return of Jehovah to His city and His people. It gave definiteness to the loyalty of every Israelite wherever he might be living. Its completion kindled anew in the minds of the people their distinctive hopes. Jerusalem became more of a rallying-place; once more it had a chance of becoming important.

(420.) **The Disappearance of Zerubbabel.** The patriotic expectations of Haggai, Zechariah and their countrymen concerning Zerubbabel were doomed to disappointment. Zerubbabel disappeared from view, and with him the house of David. Various conjectural reasons are given for this. Quite probably the scheme of organiza-

tion which Darius favored, that of dividing his vast realm into twenty provinces, each ruled by a satrap whom he could trust, and of substituting Persian governors for local princes, led to the quiet setting aside of Zerubbabel and his family. Possibly he attempted an intrigue of some sort, or a revolt, and was removed decisively from his sphere of influence. All that can be surely affirmed is that the Davidic dynasty came to an end, and with it the vigorous and wonderful prophetic dreaming of world-wide destiny.

(421.) **New Developments in Religious Thought and Worship.** The period of the exile gave rise to six marked religious changes which are worth recapitulating. In the first place there grew up in the minds of the people an apocalyptic tendency, whereby they seemed to expect that Jehovah would bring His promises to realization through the exercise of His overwhelming and catastrophic power. He would destroy Israel's foes and thus give her the chance which otherwise began to seem hopeless. This cropped out in Zephaniah, Ezekiel, Haggai and Zechariah, not dominantly, but suggestively. Again there developed a growing sense of Jehovah's aloofness and awfulness alongside of the sense of His greatness. The unusual element in these two ideas seemed to favor a development of angelology, a belief in the presence of superhuman beings, who were Jehovah's intermediaries. The prophets of the later exile frequently refer to them. Another noticeable characteristic of the religious life of this era was the growth of ritual. The discovery that the Jewish people could be very religious without any Temple or altar at all did not prevent them from eagerly awaiting their opportunity to re-establish a better, more detailed sacrificial system, which should give more adequate expression to the national conviction of sin and the need of holiness. With this growth of ritual went a decided increase in the power and dignity of the priesthood. Finally, the working conditions of the exile had developed a form of social religious life with reading of the Scriptures, prayer and

interpretation which became a permanent part of the "inheritance of Israel."

(422.) **The Literature of the Exile.** We have already seen how important, creative and impressive the prophetic utterances were in the days of the exile and restoration. It is only necessary to add that the experiences of the exile gave rise to many beautiful lyrics which are found in the book of Psalms (137; 9, 10; 6; 32). Doubtless also the trying experiences of the two generations gave rise to many pithy proverbs.

XV

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF JUDAISM UNDER SCRIBAL INFLUENCE ON THE BASIS OF THE FULL LEVITICAL LAW. 516-400 B.C. (EZRA 4:6-23; 7-10; NEHEMIAH; ISAIAH 34, 35, 55-66; MALACHI; OBADIAH.)

(423.) The century and more which followed the building of the second Temple witnessed the slow fruition of those tendencies to form and authority in religion which have already been noted. Ceremonialism seemed to suit the age. No more than a glimpse is given of the events of this lengthy period until its last half century. We know little of the Israel within Judea and even less of the greater Israel abroad. Yet these unchronicled years must have been a time of burning zeal and steady activity, which came to their expression in the great ceremonial code of Judaism, and in the holy enthusiasm of the two great leaders who reconstructed the community at Jerusalem, and gave it once more a measure of confidence and strength.

The critical problems raised by the books of Ezra and Nehemiah are very perplexing. One may question whether they will ever be settled to the unanimous satisfaction of all students. These books are clearly a compilation from very varied sources: memoirs of Nehemiah and of Ezra, a long Aramaic document (Ezra 4:8 to 6:18) of much historical value, and other material. The historical order of events is not at all the order of their narration. The historian is, therefore, compelled to adopt some order of his own, which is neces-

sarily open to criticism. Six events stand out from the disjointed narrative: (1) Frustrated efforts, in the days of Xerxes and Artaxerxes, to rebuild the walls of the city (Ezra 4:6-23); (2) an attempt by Ezra to bring about a reform through his band of pilgrims (Ezek. 7-10); (3) the rebuilding of the walls of the city under Nehemiah's leadership; (4) a second visit of Nehemiah to Judah thirteen years later; (5) the promulgation of the Law by Ezra, and (6) its formal adoption by the community. With regard to the priority of Ezra or Nehemiah, the very existence of Ezra as an individual and the extent of the "Law" adopted, there are very persistent differences of opinion among those entitled to hold opinions. The student is justified in forming his opinion in part on general principles. During the half century following 450 B.C., several remarkable events took place. The general explanation of these events, as furnished by the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, seems reasonable and worthy of credence. Under two great leaders, each a remarkable man in his own way, the Jerusalem community was not only given new life and hope, but was led to adopt as its rule of social and religious life the drastic laws which the earnest scribes in Babylonia had indefatigably collected, arranged and issued. By their advice also the people took the last step necessary for placing their community life definitely and permanently under priestly control, and for making the outward expression of their religious life distinctively ritualistic.

1. Sixty Years without Historical Record. 516 to 458 or 444 B.C. (Isaiah 34, 35, 55-66; Malachi; Obadiah.)

(424.) This period of sixty or seventy years is without any record from the pen of the Chronicler, except possibly the vague verse Ezra 4:6. Three prophetic writings, however, may be, with reasonable assurance, assigned to the period.

Israel's Golden Age.

1. Jehovah is wroth with the heathen and will destroy them. Isa. 34: 1-4.
2. He will bring Edom to desolation and ruin. 34: 5-17.
3. The joy, peace and beauty of Israel, where the redeemed will live. 35.

Problems and Promises.

4. Words of cheer to those in danger of exclusion from the community. Isa. 56: 1-8.
5. Both sensuous leaders and idolatrous people are demoralized. 56: 9 to 57: 13.
6. For the faithful Jehovah has blessings in store. 57: 14-21.
7. True religion manifests itself in thoughtful kindness and in scrupulous obedience. 58: 1-14.
8. The sinful people and the divine deliverance. 59.
9. The new Jerusalem shall be very glorious. 60.
10. In the coming day she shall be secure. 61, 62.
11. Zion's foes will all be destroyed. 63: 1-6.
12. O, Jehovah, return and manifest Thy ancient power. 63: 7 to 64: 12.
13. The blessedness which will come to the faithful, and the doom of those who oppose Jehovah. 65, 66.

The Vision of Obadiah.

1. Edom's time of humbling has come at last. vss. 1-9.
2. This is because of her persistent malignity. vss. 10-14.
3. The real future will be Judah's. vss. 15-21.

The Messages of Malachi.

1. Jehovah's great love for his own people. 1: 2-5.
2. The very priests, however, are neglectful and contemptible; Jehovah may disgrace them openly. 1: 6 to 2: 9.
3. The practise of divorce is hateful to Jehovah. 2: 10-16.
4. Jehovah's judgment will come suddenly. 2: 17 to 3: 6.
5. Be conscientious in serving Jehovah and He will abundantly bless you. 3: 7-12.
6. The day is coming when the godless and the faithful will gain their just rewards. 3: 13 to 4: 3.
7. Be obedient to the Law. 4: 4-6.

(425.) What three prophetic books are represented in these writings? How many of them refer to Edom? What characteristics of Edom seemed to be emphasized? What is the picture of Judah given in these prophecies? What splendid prophecies looking toward the future were made?

(426.) **The Course of Asiatic History.** The hopes of freedom and glory to which Haggai and Zechariah gave occasional expression were not realized by the Jewish

community. Darius crushed his adversaries and reorganized his great empire in peace. He had a long reign (521-485 B.C.) of thirty-six years. Having put his dominions into the order in which he delighted with an organization of satrapies, ruled by great administrators directly responsible to him, which gave it uniformity and unity, he turned his attention to the lands beyond the Bosphorus. In 513 B.C., with an army of 700,000 soldiers, he marched to the Danube and attacked the Scythians. The expedition was a failure because he could never compel his foes to come to a decisive battle with him. On his return he left Megabyzus with 80,000 men to conquer Thrace, while he extended his authority eastward. About 501 B.C., the Greek cities of Asia Minor, backed by help from Greece, gave Darius much trouble for a series of years, so he determined to subjugate the whole Hellenic peninsula. In 492 B.C., he sent Mardonius with a large army into Thrace and Macedonia, and also sent a fleet to the Peloponnesus. Both attacks were repulsed with loss. In 490 another Persian army was defeated at Marathon by the Athenians under Miltiades. In the midst of his preparations for a third expedition Darius died.

The first task of the son of Darius, Xerxes I (486-466 B.C.) was to subdue a revolt in Egypt (486 B.C.), but he continued his father's purpose to crush at all costs the defiant Greeks. He raised the largest army the world had ever seen for their subjugation, and organized a great fleet. He accompanied the expedition in 480 B.C., but was a terror-stricken witness of the overwhelming defeat of the fleet at Salamis. The next year at Plataea, his huge army was defeated and scattered, while the reconstructed fleet was again defeated at Mycale. Henceforth the Greeks were aggressive and Persia had to fight for its life.

Artaxerxes I (466-425 B.C.), the next in succession, was the head of a decadent empire, so well organized, and with such colossal resources, that its weakening was hardly perceptible for a long while. Artaxerxes crushed

a formidable rebellion in Egypt, but was invariably unsuccessful in his wars with the Ionians and Greeks. His reign was of great importance to Israel, for his friendliness for Nehemiah made possible the new Jerusalem.

(427.) **The Edomites.** These hereditary foes of Israel, first conquered by David (II Sam. 8: 13, 14), reconquered, after a period of independence, by Jehoshaphat (I Ki. 22: 47, 48), and again conquered by Amaziah (II Ki. 14: 7), never failed to win their independence at the earliest opportunity, and to show their undying hatred for Judah (Amos 1: 11). The overthrow of Judah by Nebuchadrezzar caused the Edomites to rejoice, which, in turn, embittered Israel's prophets (Ezek. 25: 12-14; Isa. 63: 1, 3, 4; Obad. 11-14), who looked upon Edom as typically godless.

From their secure city of Petra, hewn out of the very rocks, the Edomites were expelled at some unknown date between 500 and 450 B.C., by the Nabateans. This is the invasion mentioned in Mal. 1: 3. Soon after that they settled in southern Judah, their northern border at Beth-sur being less than twenty miles from Jerusalem.* This region remained in their hands and was the Idumaea of the New Testament. From it they manifested hostility for three centuries until John Hyrcanus thoroughly subdued, circumcised and annexed them, putting an end to their national history. (§491).

(428.) **The Cry of Obadiah for Vengeance upon Edom.** The little book of Obadiah may possibly belong to the days immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem, to which clear reference is made in verses 10-14. The memory of those days of wanton insult rankled in the heart of every son of Judah (Ps. 108: 9). Probably, however, it belongs to the days just after Edom's seizure of the territory of southern Judah (vss. 19, 21). The "pride" of Edom had support in the sense of security afforded by the unique location of Petra in the heart of the Mt. Seir range. The irregular, well-watered valley, a mile or two in length, shut in by lofty cliffs and ap-

*See the uncolored portion of the lower, left-hand map facing page 290.

proachable from the desert by a long, narrow, winding gorge, was proof against any ordinary attacks. The cliffs were of soft rock, and within them the men of Edom excavated their homes. (Obad. 3.)

It is quite probable that Obad. 1-9 is an oracle of earlier date, perhaps of early exilic days, completed by a prophet who was a contemporary of Malachi. The book declares that the exultation which Edom exhibited long ago will be changed into humiliation. Jehovah's curse rests upon treachery. Edom's punishment is certain and Judah's return and mastery of Palestine is no less assured.

(429.) **The Character of the People Jehovah can Bless.** (Isa. 34, 35, 56-66.) Set over against the thoughts that Jehovah will destroy those who deliberately stand in the pathway of His purpose and that He plans a happy, peaceful, prosperous, even splendid and glorious future for His own people and for His city, to which the whole world will be tributary, the distinctive prophetic declarations have to do with the character of those to whom He is intrusting His work of world salvation. Chapter 58 is a notable expression of the gospel of helpfulness; 61: 1-3 declares the program of a true prophet; but everywhere the prophet extols the courageous (35: 3, 4), the righteous (56: 1, 2), the helpful (58: 6-10), the joyous (35: 10; 58: 10-12), and the energetic (35: 5, 6), — all who look forward with earnestness to a real work to do. This demand for higher standards of religious life sounds the old prophetic keynote for which we have learned to look.

(430.) **Malachi's Presentation of the Moral Problems of the Day.** The book of Malachi is virtually anonymous. We cannot be sure that the name Malachi is a personal name. We do know, however, that some great-souled prophet gave expression to the words of the book not long before the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. He sounded just the note of reform that seems to have been needed by the corrupt and careless priesthood who neglected the Temple services, and the downcast, questioning com-

munity of good Israelites, who found themselves at a great disadvantage. Malachi stands midway between the seer and the sage. He has the devotedness, enthusiasm and ideas of the former and the formal method of the latter. He almost reviews preceding prophecy, enumerating Jehovah's persistent love for Israel (1:2; 2:10; 3:17), His fatherhood (1:6; 3:17), His holiness (1:6; 2:11), His unchanged ideals for priesthood and people (2:4-9, 17; 3:4-6), the need of repentance proven by deeds (2:15, 16; 3:4), the sure prosperity which will follow upon it (3:10-12), the " Day " of Jehovah (4:5) and its judgments (4:1), and the world-wide future (1:11; 3:12). He is curiously catholic in his sentiments. He rejoices at the way in which Jehovah is honored in the midst of the heathen world (1:11), which must be a tribute to the better side of paganism, so far as it is religiously in earnest.

Malachi had good reason for his campaign. His people were depressed and careless, leaders and laity alike. They were losing the reality out of their religion. They were no better than many in the great heathen world. He uttered a ringing message of reform; no more cheapened religion, priestly irreverence, unbrotherly standards, " penny " offerings, righteous grumbling.

The description of Jehovah's " Day " (4:1-3) is a good sample of the apocalyptic temper which prophets begin to exhibit occasionally. The wicked are to be destroyed, root and branch, like stubble. They are to be trodden under foot by the righteous. Compare such a hope with Isaiah 49:6.

2. The Mission of Ezra, the Scribe, to Judah. 458 B.C. (?). (Ezra 7-10; 4:7-23.)

(431.) These passages describe the important mission of the scribe Ezra to Judah with the " book of the Law," with which he sought to accomplish a thoroughgoing reform.

In whose reign did Ezra plan the work of reform? (Ezra 7:1.) What was Ezra's lineage and profession?

(7:1-6.) What request did he make of the king? (7:10.) What seven privileges did the king grant? (7:13, 16, 17, 20, 24-26.) To what office did he appoint Ezra? (7:25.) How much money did he promise for the enterprise? (7:22.) What class of people did not at first volunteer? (8:15-20.) What mistake had Ezra unwittingly made while presenting his case to the king? (8:22.) How did he meet the exigency? (8:21, 23.) How much treasure did they take up? (8:26-30.) What was the character of the journey? (8:31.) In what way did the pilgrims show their gratitude for divine protection? (8:35, 36.) What charge was publicly made to Ezra later on concerning the community? (9:1, 2.) How did it affect him? (9:3.) What confession did he make in his prayer? (9:6-15.) How did this affect the community? (10:1.) What was Shecaniah's proposal? (10:2-4.) How did Ezra clinch it? (10:5.) What proclamation was issued? (10:7, 8.) What indicates Ezra's forgetfulness of all else than his immediate purpose? (10:9, 13.) What measure of reform did he put through? (10:11.) What sensible suggestion prevailed? (10:14.) How long did it take for Ezra's commission to do its work? (10:16, 17.) What later enterprise was complained of to Artaxerxes by the surrounding peoples? (4:8-12.) What charge was made against the Jewish community? (4:13-16.) What reply did the king make? (4:17-22.) What was the result? (4:23.)

(432.) **Ezra, the Ready Scribe, in the Law of Moses.** Professor Torrey, and other reverent and dispassionate students of the Ezra narratives, have shown conclusively that Ezra 7-10 comes from the pen of the Chronicler who lived over two hundred years later than Ezra's time, and unquestionably idealized Ezra's own work. With his conclusion that Ezra is little more than a personification of the great historical movement that shaped the life of the Jewish people in the century immediately following the work of Nehemiah, it is permissible to differ. Ezra, in his way, is as clear-cut a personality as Nehemiah.

He is as surely demanded by the developing situation as that great leader. It is very strange that the records concerning the work of both leaders are in such confused order, that each ignores the other in such portions of the record as seem reasonably original, and that Ben-Sirach, in his review of the famous men of Israel, about 200 B.C. (Ecclesiasticus 44: 1 to 50: 24) mentions Nehemiah, but not Ezra. Notwithstanding these unquestionable facts, the omission of Ezra as a personality seems to narrow and misinterpret the movement of the times for religious reforms based upon the newly edited Law. Even if Ezra 7-10 cannot be given the value of an original memoir like Neh. 1-6, it must have been based upon original material in order to produce a portraiture like that of Ezra. On the other hand, the Chronicler used his material with freedom. Whether Ezra appeared in Judah before or after Nehemiah must be regarded as an open question, although not one of vital importance. The order adopted below for the events of this whole period is one from which many good authorities may differ.

(433.) **His Sweeping Work of Reform at Jerusalem.** The story is as follows: Ezra, a famous and learned scribe, passionately devoted to the institutional development of religion, believing that his kinsmen in Judah were ignorant of the splendid standards of religious and social life which he and his brethren had worked out to a successful completion in Babylonia, and burning with zeal to secure their adoption in the Holy Land and city, so as to make it the real religious center of Israel, secured permission from Artaxerxes to head a new pilgrimage to Judah. The narrative credits him with getting remarkable privileges from Artaxerxes. Both the extent of the authority, and the amount of the treasure, may be suspected by the historian. In B.C. 458 Ezra collected a band of about fifteen hundred men, every man reliable and dead in earnest. Soon after his safe arrival at Jerusalem, he learned of the prevalent carelessness about intermarrying with the mixed peoples of Palestine.

He saw the serious consequences of this laxity, and stirred the consciences of the people. They begged him to set the situation right. A commission in the course of three months carried a drastic reform through to the finish.

(434.) **The Attempt to Build up Jerusalem.** It is not unlikely that such an impulsive, one-idead leader as Ezra should have led the community in a movement, soon after, to put Jerusalem into a more secure state. If Ezra 4: 8-22 implies an attempt to build the walls, it must refer either to such an attempt under Ezra's leadership or to Nehemiah's enterprise. The former alternative seems more probable. At any rate, the surrounding peoples objected strongly to the strengthening of Jerusalem, and managed to get a restraining order from Artaxerxes. That the king should be capable of graciously giving a firman to Ezra in one year, and then of reversing his action several years later is not remarkable. Judah was the smallest possible spot in his vast dominions. It is quite unlikely that either matter bulked largely in his thinking. But the effect in Judah was tremendous. In a moment, the plans of Ezra were broken.

3. The Rehabilitation of Jerusalem under Nehemiah's Leadership. 445-430 B.C., or later. (Nehemiah 1-7; 11: 1, 2; 12: 27-43; 13: 4-31.)

(435.) These vividly written narratives, mainly extracts from the memoirs of Nehemiah, describe his appointment as governor, his quick journey to Jerusalem, the rapid building of the wall, the organization of the city and the various reforms which he instituted.

By what means was Nehemiah made aware of Judah's need? (1: 1-3.) On receipt of the news, what did he do? (1: 4-11.) What was his official position at court? (1: 11.) What gave him a sudden chance to speak to the king? (2: 1, 2.) How did Nehemiah explain his soberness? (2: 3.) For what favors did he ask? (2: 5, 7, 8.) What effect did the news of his appointment have on the non-Judeans in Palestine? (2: 10.) What was

Nehemiah's first act on reaching Jerusalem? (2: 12-16.) What appeal did he then make? (2: 17, 18.) Under what general plan was the work of rebuilding the walls carried on? (3.) How did Sanballat and his friends view the enterprise in its beginnings? (2: 19, 20; 4: 1-3.) When the wall was half repaired, what did these opponents plan to do? (4: 7, 8, 11, 12.) How did Nehemiah frustrate such plans? (4: 9, 13-23.) What different stratagems did they try against Nehemiah? (6: 1-14, 19.) How soon was the wall completed? (6: 15.) Who was put in charge of the secure city? (7: 1-3.) What measures were taken to make it populous? (11: 1, 2.) In what ways was the dedicatory service made impressive? (12: 27-43.) When Nehemiah came the second time to Jerusalem, what five drastic measures of reform did he put through? (13: 4-31.)

(436.) **The Records of Nehemiah's Activity.** The book of Nehemiah is a strange commingling of narrative of the very highest historical value (1-6), with less reliable material (8-10) thoroughly worked over by the Chronicler, describing the public adoption of the Law, and lists and notices whose dates and meaning are very uncertain. The passages essential for our purpose of studying Nehemiah's contribution to the period are fortunately unquestionable. His first-hand memoirs err only in their brevity.

(437.) **Nehemiah, the Man.** Few characters in the Old Testament are more engaging than Nehemiah. Occupying a post of great influence, dignity and attractiveness at the splendid Persian court, he had, nevertheless, a noble Jewish heart, which had often shown itself in acts of friendliness to Jews sold as slaves (5: 8). When conditions at Jerusalem seemed altogether desperate, a small deputation of Jews made the long journey from Jerusalem to Susa to appeal to him. They did not reckon in vain on his loyalty. Seeing clearly what was needed at Jerusalem, and knowing his own power, Nehemiah dedicated himself unhesitatingly but prayerfully to the task of rehabilitating the holy city. He well

knew the precarious nature of royal favor and the uncertainty of Artaxerxes' attitude, but bided his time, asked for the favor of Jehovah and waited. The wished-for moment came unexpectedly, but he was ready. Putting up a silent prayer for wisdom (2:4) he told the great king frankly why his face had betrayed his sorrow and made several comprehensive requests which the king granted. These details portray the man, his large-heartedness, true piety, fine courage, and his capacity for managing men and affairs. That there were many like him in the great world of that day accounts for the widespread influence and rapid success of Judaism abroad.

(438.) **The Building of the Wall.** The new governor reached Jerusalem, properly escorted (2:9). As the king's friend, he was a very different opponent from Ezra in the eyes of Judah's enemies (2:10). His shrewdness was manifested in his determination to see the situation with his own eyes before announcing his program. Then, with burning conviction that the opportunity of lifting the "reproach" had come, he thrilled the people to united action, and the wall began to rise at once. Apparently social and professional groups worked together, each with a specific portion of the wall assigned to it, so that a friendly spirit of emulation might be active. Nehemiah was director, architect, defender and diplomat all in one. His accounts of the measures taken by the triad directing the opposition forces are amusing. They throw a vivid light upon Nehemiah himself. Their derision did not move him (2:19, 20); their mockery, especially that of Tobiah, touched him on the quick (4:1-5); their threats he met by closer and more careful organization of his forces (4:7-23); their schemes he saw through (6:1-4); their accusation of treason, so dangerous in an empire where they executed an accused man and then investigated, he met with a noble denial (6:5-9); the diabolically deceptive advice of Shemaiah, the prophet, he did not take because of his natural modesty and fineness of spirit (6:10-13). Only a very genuinely great man would have passed these ordeals

unscathed. But Nehemiah kept his head and busied his hands, and the wall went to completion in a very short time. Many portions, of course, needed relatively little repair.

(439.) **The Organization of Jerusalem and Dedication of the Wall.** In September, 444 B.C., the great task being completed, Nehemiah turned his attention to three essential measures, the populating of the city, the organization of its control, and the formal dedication of the wall. During the preceding century or less it had been impracticable for many Judeans to live within the ruined city. The great bulk of the people in the little community, as an inspection of the villages mentioned in chapter 3 suggests, were living within twenty miles or less of Jerusalem. Many of these volunteered to reside in Jerusalem. A few may have been forced to follow their example. The city was placed in charge of a special governor, Hanani, and well organized (7: 1-3). Nehemiah showed his genius for leadership by holding a solemn festival of dedication. The account of it is given partly in the characteristic style of the Chronicler (12: 27-30, 41-42), and partly in a Chronicler's revision of Nehemiah's memoir (12: 31-40, 43). All the notable people in the community shared with him in the solemn service, which indicated to every spectator the larger significance of the enterprise so well concluded.

(440.) **Nehemiah's Social Reforms.** The thirteenth chapter of the book of Nehemiah has evidently been recast by the Chronicler, yet it is so lifelike that we must suppose that it records the events of Nehemiah's second visit, at a time subsequent to the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes, 432 B.C. The fifth chapter illustrates the fine spirit which made him an effective reformer. He found the well-to-do preying mercilessly upon the helpless and needy, breaking the acknowledged law (Deut. 23: 20). He summoned the people to a great council (5: 7) and denounced them unsparingly (5: 8). He was able to point to his own generous example and urge a reform, which was carried through (5: 9-13).

At some later time Nehemiah carried through five important reforming measures in a strenuous way. He found Tobiah, the Ammonite, occupying a room within the Temple precincts, which was really needed for storing the tithes brought, in accordance with the Deuteronomic law (Deut. 18:4; 14:27, 28), to the Temple for the Levites. Expelling Tobiah, he also appointed a representative committee (13:13), to which he intrusted the work of receiving and distributing these tithes. The proper observance of the Sabbath (13:15-22) and the abstention from marriage alliances with Gentiles (13:23-27) he insisted upon. Finally he found that a chief offender was a grandson of the high priest. This man had married a daughter of Sanballat. Nehemiah expelled him from Judah. These were salutary measures, and tended to unify and hearten the Jewish community.

(441.) **The Significance of Nehemiah's Work.** Nehemiah did more than build a wall. He created a new and hopeful community, self-respecting and aggressive. He linked all Jewry with a bond of brotherliness. He did his work so finely that he aroused a new sense of national importance in the minds of his disheartened people. They saw in Nehemiah the best characteristics of their people,— patriotism, efficiency, zeal, spirituality, far-sightedness and friendliness. His work meant much to Israel.

4. The Adoption of the New Law. Somewhere between 445 B.C. and 400 B.C. (Nehemiah 8-10; 12:44 to 13:3.)

(442.) These passages describe the public adoption by the Judean community of the new law which Ezra set forth.

Who gave the impulse toward the formal teaching of the law by Ezra? (8:1.) How long was the service on the first day? (8:3.) What details are reported? (8:4-8.) What effect was produced upon the people? (8:9.) What fine message did Nehemiah or Ezra give them? (8:9, 10.) What particularly pleased the people? (8:12.) What feast was held properly because of what the people

heard? (8:14-18.) Two weeks later what solemn act was carried out? (9:2.) What did the representatives of the people covenant to do? (10:29.) What specific things did the covenant include? (10:30-39.) In what form was the covenant ratified? (9:38.)

(443.) **Ezra Redivivus.** One of the questions which these books do not enable us to answer with absolute satisfaction is the position of Ezra during Nehemiah's active years. Quite possibly he was in retirement. He may have gone back to Babylonia. Nehemiah did not mention him, but why should he have done so? In the narrative of the dedication of the wall (Neh. 12:27-43) the references to Ezra (12:33, 36) may be insertions. In the story of the national assembly and the adoption of the new covenant, the Chronicler has freely revised the data. Yet the introduction of Ezra and the essential details of the solemn assembly seem historical. The time came when the rebuilding of the wall involved also the raising of a "fence of the law" to maintain the purity of the Jewish blood, language, worship and morals.

(444.) **The Great Assembly.** At a time which cannot now be determined, the whole people were gathered together with some spontaneity to listen to Ezra as he expounded the law to them. Ezra was a man of God who commanded the profound respect of the people. The result of the impulse given by Nehemiah was to quicken the popular conscience, and make every-one receptive. It was Ezra's opportunity, and he seized it. For hours he read to the people the book of the Law, while his associates reinterpreted the Hebrew into Aramaic, the people's language. It was a wonderful day, moving many to tears. The leaders encouraged them to rejoice over the purpose that was uppermost in each mind. A wave of glad obedience swept through the throng. They found the record of the proper keeping of the feast of Tabernacles and willingly set themselves to celebrate as they never had before. The great mean-

ing and value of ceremonialism as a system of holiness dawned upon their minds.

(445.) **The Solemn Covenant.** The outcome of all this was a solemn rededication of themselves to God's service, and the signing of a covenant to order their lives by the law, under new standards, as recommended by Ezra. Possibly no one but a priest or a scribe would have thought of getting the pledge in black and white. As an ideal, it contrasted oddly with Jeremiah's noble conception (Jer. 31:33) of a covenant. The people, through their representatives (10:1-27) agreed to obey the law in respect to (1) abstention from marriage with those of alien blood, (2) the observance of the Sabbath, (3) the observance of the sabbatical year, and (4) the regular and responsible provision of supplies for the Temple and its ministry. They thus bound themselves to enter seriously and heartily into the support of a far stricter ceremonial law.

(446.) **The Book of Ruth a Protest against the Measures against Aliens.** It is generally held that the beautiful idyll of Ruth was written at this period as a "Tract for the Time." It indirectly argues for the views of those who, in the spirit of the great prophet of the exile, believed that Israel had a mission to the heathen and must cultivate relations with them. It simply shows that Ruth, the ancestress of David, was a Moabitess and yet a great and noble-minded lady. It pointed its own moral. But Ezra would not have been moved by argument. The times had changed; and in his judgment Israel's only safety lay in exclusiveness. (§160).

5. The Establishment of Judaism as a Social and Religious Corporate Unity. About 400 B.C.

(447.) **The Priests' Code.** The original records of the history of the Hebrew people, examined in due course, have made it very clear that from the days of Josiah in 621 B.C. to the time of Ezra's reform, the standard law of Jewish life had been the Deuteronomic law. Nehemiah and Ezra based their reforms upon another code of

law, much more elaborate than the one in the book of Deuteronomy, and found, at present, in the books of Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers. It is known as the Levitical or Priestly Code. It was new to the Palestinian community. (Ezra 7: 14, 25; Neh. 8: 9-18.)

The Priestly Code is not a well-constructed whole, but rather a series of smaller groups of ceremonial legislation. Some of the laws reiterate in slightly different form those of the older, primitive or Deuteronomic codes, but generally they supplement these earlier codes. The collation, formulation and codification of these laws was part of a movement beginning in the Exile with the Holiness legislation (§ 393), furthered by Ezekiel in his scheme for Israel's future (§ 388) and vigorously continued by the prophets and priests who gave themselves to the literary tasks of the Exile (§ 392).

The purpose of these editors was a high and holy one. They longed to make Israel a holy, righteous people. So (1) they centered all life at the Temple; (2) guarded the Temple from pollution from any source, even honest worshippers; (3) made its worship attractive; (4) insured the ceremonial purity of the priesthood; (5) tried to insure likewise the ceremonial cleanliness of the people by strict rules of purification and eating; (6) provided an elaborate system of offerings which emphasized the guilt of indifference; (7) prohibited marriage with the heathen; (8) emphasized the rigid observance of the Sabbath, of circumcision and other institutional acts. The motive in all this was noble, but the historian is bound to think that it was a departure, not intentionally so much as in reality, from the prophetic ideals. It defined duty in terms of ceremonial rather than in terms of spirituality.

(448.) **The Third Great National History.** The very motives which sustained this movement explain a parallel achievement of great importance. Among this same priestly group were men who rejoiced, no doubt, in the splendid, combined, prophetic history and law book JED (§ 392), which preserved for their generation the noble idealism and sympathetic interpretations of the

two great historians of pre-exilic Israel (§§ 244, 264), and yet felt that some details of real importance were lacking in that work. They had come to feel that the institutions which Israel had developed during her long history were supremely valuable, but JED said comparatively little about them. These men set themselves to the task of writing a history which should adequately explain the origin and value of Israel's peculiar institutions and trace the genealogical data regarded by these men as of such supreme value. The origins of various customs, the gradual development of the sense of a covenant relationship, the institution of ritual practices were the themes which seemed momentous and worthy of recounting. Accustomed to ascribe all legislation to Moses in the literal sense, they conceived of it all as being promulgated at Sinai. It is known as P.

This history began with the stately poem of Genesis 1. The reader can now understand the remark of a historian who declared that Genesis 1 stands side by side with Isaiah 40-48 in its conception of Jehovah and could hardly have been thought out earlier than the exile. The work followed mainly the dreary lines of an institutional history, intensely interesting to those whose minds run in a priestly channel, quite devoid of charm to a literary soul. It did not run in human lines, but overemphasized the divine power and the ritualistic form. The priestly history, almost certainly in its picture of an elaborately fitted Tabernacle and a mathematically arranged camp in the wilderness and in its huge estimates of time or number, represents an idealization. The simplicity of the prophetical traditions must be nearer the historic reality.

(449.) **The Hexateuch, JEDP.** The final step of literary growth which united JED with P into our present noble historico-legal work, the Hexateuch, must have been taken not far from 400 B.C. The viewpoint of the writers of P, which included both the priestly history and the laws, was the dominant feeling of the age. Still they deeply valued the prophetical histories, which had

for not less than three centuries been recognized as a family " Bible " for godly Hebrews, placed side by side with the prophetical writings. The natural solution was the use of the priestly material as the groundwork of a new combination into which the earlier prophetical history was fitted.

We thus come to understand the presence in the Hexateuch of childlike narrative, of prophetic idealism, of matured theology and of ritualism. It is a thesaurus of law, literature, history and religion. It represents a direct literary history of not less than three or four centuries and makes abundant use of far older material. It combines in interesting fashion the two great elements in religion which struggle today in the Christian church, the moral and the institutional. It grew out of a wonderful composite experience of God and appeals today to most varied religious need. We may be devoutly thankful that God permitted His Word to grow in just such a way.

(450.) **What Judaism Meant as a Working System.** The adoption by the community at Jerusalem of the Levitical law meant that henceforth they were wholly dominated by the priesthood, who controlled the Temple. It became the center of their life. In its services the people found great joy. The cost of the stately and beautiful service was heavy, but was cheerfully borne. Life became standardized to a degree unknown before. Each day's duties were so complicated and numerous that there was less and less of individual initiative in worship. The most important interests came to be those of religion. Such a life seemed, however, far from burdensome. Obedience seemed a glad privilege and faithfulness a blessing.

> " Oh, how I love thy Law,
> It is my meditation all the day."

The fifteenth psalm exhibits impressively the commingling of prophetic standards and institutional forms, which might characterize the religious life of a representative Jew of early Judaism.

(451.) **The Significance of Judaism.** Judaism was far from being an ideal religious system. It was a lowering of the noble standards of the great prophetic thinkers. It tended to place the form before the reality, the act for the religious feeling behind it. Jesus had to condemn without reserve Pharisaism, its extreme one-sided development. But Judaism kept alive and protected a very vital and real religious spirit. Such personalities as Zechariah, Elizabeth, Simeon, Anna, and Mary were not abnormal but the truest representatives of the strong heart of Israel, which beat beneath the shell of Judaism. We shall come to realize the fiery trials through which the Jewish people passed in the next four centuries. Humanly speaking, this organization of their religious life, which gave it definiteness and yet permitted a free spiritual growth of the individual, was all that kept the people loyal to their ideals and triumphant in their faith.

(452.) **The Old Testament about B.C. 400.** The last question the student may well ask will concern the Scriptures in the year 400 B.C. As we have just seen, the Hexateuch, practically in its present form, had been wrought out, and the historical books as far as Second Kings inclusive. Doubtless many psalms and many proverbs were familiar treasures; and small collections of these abounded. Thirteen prophetical writings were available, but the later grouping of the Old Testament had not yet been thought of. The adoption of the Levitical law was the last and most decisive step in a process of growing dependence upon the written word of Jehovah, which led to formal canonical recognition, first of the Pentateuch, then of the histories and prophetical writings. This recognition was completed not later than 200 B.C., and may have taken place much earlier. The matter of importance is to see that the nation now was in the mood to realize that Jehovah had been speaking to them for many generations in varied ways and with many messages, all of which acquired a new and sacred value to all on whose hearts God set His seal.

6. The Israel of the Exile.

(453.) **A Review of the Period Preparatory to Judaism.**

Duration of the Period. What was its length? Mention three significant dates.

Its Great Events. Thinking back to the beginning of the exile, what five events seem of most importance?

Its Notable Leaders. Name in the order of their importance the five most important men of Israel mentioned in the narratives.

The Nations with which the Jews were in Contact. In these two centuries or less, seven or eight nationalities, little and big, have been mentioned. Mention two of the first rank and two of the second rank.

The Records. What Biblical books have been wholly or partially considered during our study of the period? How many classes of literature do they represent? Mention at least six great passages which have interested you.

Their History of Prophecy. Place in order the six prophets of this era, and indicate the principal message of each one.

Their History of the Temple. Review the history of the Temple during this period.

Their Story of Religious Development. How did a religiously minded man of Ezra's day differ from such a man at the beginning of the exile?

Their Story of Literary Development. What great literary advances did the age witness?

Their Political Story. What became of the royal family of Judah and its authority?

A True Title for the Age. Is " productivity " the most characteristic fact about the age?

Its Dominating Factor. What influence predominated to bring the age to its conclusion?

Its Contribution to Religion. Was the increased emphasis on law and ceremonial an advance in religion?

XVI

SOME QUESTIONS IN GENERAL REVIEW OF HEBREW AND JEWISH HISTORY FROM 1000 B.C. TO 400 B.C.

(454.) 1. Picture the western Asiatic world at the end of Solomon's reign, classifying the nationalities as greater than the Hebrew kingdom, measurably equal to it, or inferior in power.

2. What kings of either Hebrew kingdom followed Solomon's example in the fostering of trade?

3. When and how did the leading people of these two kingdoms become inhabitants of cities rather than peasant farmers?

4. Were the editors of the books of Kings justified in their repeated condemnation of Jeroboam I (I Kings 14:16; 15:30; 16:2, 26)? Did they mean to imply that he was unusually wicked?

5. Who was the first Hebrew king to introduce the Aramean scourge into Palestine? Were his probable reasons such as to justify his policy?

6. Compare in royal values Jeroboam I, Omri, Ahab, Jehu, Joash and Jeroboam II, and arrange them in the order of greatness.

7. What were the causes, remote and immediate, for the disruption of Solomon's kingdom?

8. Compare the two resultant kingdoms in area, resources, population, security and characteristics.

9. In what two opposite ways did Phoenicia impress herself upon Israel and Judah? Why did they never go to war with her, although often warring with Philistia, south of Phoenicia, and with the Aramean peoples to the north?

10. Why did Samaria so quickly become a city of importance? How long did it exist in history as a city?

11. When was the northern kingdom at its height of prosperity and power? When did it include the greatest extent of territory? What was its finest contribution to Hebrew civilization?

12. What was the dangerous difference between the inherited Canaanitish Baalism, undisturbed by Elijah and

Elisha, and the imported Phoenician Baalism against which they waged deadly warfare? In what respects did the inherited Baalism affect Jehovah worship? Why did the prophets after Amos attack it also?

13. From what is recorded concerning the prophets, Micaiah, Elijah and Elisha, what would be a fair inference regarding the legitimate duties of a prophetic leader in Israel, in the ninth century B.C.? How would the history of the later prophets alter that conclusion?

14. Trace the history of the Temple from Solomon's day to the exile. What altered it from a favorite royal chapel or shrine into the distinctively national religious center? What was the real value of the second Temple?

15. How many dynasties occupied the throne of the northern kingdom? Which dynasty did the most for the kingdom? How many dynasties lasted less than a year?

16. What four great nations assumed the overlordship of Palestine between 937 and 400 B.C.? and for what respective periods? Which one of the four most vitally influenced Israel and Judah and in what particular ways?

17. For what historical reasons did the Hebrew people have the opportunity to build up their little kingdoms, undisturbed by powerful and ambitious world rulers, until the eighth century B.C.?

18. Trace the growth of Jerusalem from its founding down to its destruction in 586 B.C. What influences contributed to her gradual supremacy? How could Isaiah believe Jerusalem to be inviolable and declare that Jehovah would not permit the Assyrians to set foot within the city, and yet Jeremiah declare that Jehovah was in favor of her surrender?

19. When and why did Jerusalem become of greater importance as an ideal than as an actual city?

20. Why was the work of Nehemiah in rebuilding the walls and reorganizing the city of such great importance?

21. When did the Hebrew people begin to be a literary people in any reasonable sense? What century of the six centuries under consideration might be termed the "golden

age " of their literature? To what outside influence were they most indebted for literary advance?

22. Trace the steps of the religious growth of the Hebrew peoples from the conventional loyalty to Jehovah of the days of Solomon to the deliberate reliance upon the one universal Deity characteristic of the Jew after the exile.

23. What four prophets did their work in the latter half of the eighth century B.C.? What distinctive contributions did they make to religious thinking? What were their limitations as religious thinkers?

24. What five prophets were active in the half century just preceding the exile? Which one paralleled all the others? What new ideas did they express? What two great forward steps in religious thinking did the two most prominent ones establish?

25. How many prophetic utterances can be ascribed to the two centuries from 586 to 400 B.C.? What great prophetic ideas were characteristic of this age?

26. When was the Messianic idea first formulated in prophetic thinking? Through what phases did it pass prior to 400 B.C.?

27. When did the missionary aspect of Israel's future find its earliest expression? When was it given effective statement?

28. Trace the growth of Israel's legislation. At what three periods during these six hundred years was there an outburst of great interest in the Law?

29. What is the outstanding difference between prophecy and apocalypse? What prophets prior to 400 B.C. betrayed the influence of apocalyptical thinking?

30. What was prophecy's most fundamental idea, the one by which each prophet is given a rating? What one or two other ideas does nearly every prophet touch upon in some form?

31. Of what value to the two Hebrew kingdoms was their rivalry with Aram?

32. Of the eight great rulers of the Assyrian empire between Ashurnazirpal and Ashurbanipal, which one was

of the greatest significance to the Hebrew people and why?

33. How many capital cities came to their destruction during these centuries? Where were they located and by whom were they captured and destroyed?

34. How many Hebrew prophets predicted the downfall of Nineveh? How many that of Babylon? How many that of Jerusalem?

35. Of the dozen or so prophetic writings published during the eighth to the fourth centuries inclusive, which one seems on the whole to be most representative of all the elements in Israelitish prophecy?

36. Distinguish between the eternal elements in prophecy, those which were emphasized by every prophet, and the temporary elements, essential to the message of their day that it might be intelligible, but destined to drop out of consideration.

37. Which king of Judah is on the whole entitled to preeminence as the one who did most for his people? Which one was the worst king?

38. Compare as world rulers Ashurnazirpal, Tiglathpileser III, Ashurbanipal, Nebuchadrezzar, Cyrus and Darius. Which one made the greatest success and why?

39. Among the Hebrews portrayed in the writings of these six centuries, who is the most attractive?

40. Among the varied writings of these centuries, which three should be ranked as in the foremost class?

41. What was the secret of the rapid decline of the kingdom of Judah after Hezekiah's day?

42. In what respects was the exile a blessing to the Jewish race? Where was its home and what were its ambitions thereafter?

43. Was the second Temple a help or a hindrance to the ideal religious development of the Jewish people?

44. Was the ceremonial law as completed by Ezra and his colleagues a means of grace or a stumbling block to the Jews of Ezra's time?

45. Was Judaism as a system a historical blunder of great magnitude or a real stage of advancing religious growth?

46. In the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, where were the Jews to be found outside of Judea? What were the two other centers of unusual importance?

47. Of all the influences within and without concerned in the education of the Hebrew people, — the priesthood, the Temple, the ritual, the Law, prophecy, wisdom, nationalism, ambitious kings, the ideal future, foreign ideals and customs, the greater world, inherited ideals, — to which should be given the foremost place?

48. When may the nation be said to have attained the lofty position — so long her divinely directed goal — of the world's teacher of religion?

49. What element in the history of the Jewish people makes it religiously valuable beyond that of other peoples?

50. What are the elements which give to Israel's history and literature an unending value of an intimate, personal nature?

THE AGE OF FIXED CONVICTIONS:

THE JEWS A PEOPLE LIVING UNDER A WRITTEN LAW

(**Note:** The remainder of this volume is intended to promote a hasty survey of the five centuries and more during which Judaism developed. The treatment is limited to essential details.)

THE AGE OF FIXED CONVICTIONS: THE JEWS A PEOPLE LIVING UNDER A WRITTEN LAW

From the Establishment of Judaism to the Complete Destruction of Jewish Nationality. 400 B.C. to 135 A.D. (Four Prophetical Books or Portions; one Apocalypse; the Wisdom Writings; the Chronicler's History; the Psalter; Esther; First and Second Maccabees; Tobit; Judith; Josephus; and many Other Uncanonical Writings.)

(455.) The greater portion of this period of more than five hundred years has been termed "the period of silence," because no direct record of it is found in the Old Testament. The title is curiously inept. These centuries were not illumined by such flashes of creative idealism as those which stirred the souls of loyal Jews in the later exile and thereafter, but they had their own peculiar significance. With the real establishment of Judaism as a religious system, it seemed to exhaust the creative impulse of the race. There seemed nothing more to know about God or humanity, obligation or opportunity. These great matters had been given a development beyond which the Hebrew mind did not feel the need of going. It felt that it had received a perfect revelation. The task remaining was to interpret and apply that revelation to the needs both of the Jewish people and of humankind. Out of the necessity of maintaining all that had been gained religiously grew the supreme importance of the priesthood in the Israel of these centuries; but second only to the hierarchy in public esteem were the scholarly interpreters, the earnest teachers and the wise thinkers, who were indefatigable in determining the duty of every man in the light of the sane and splendid revelation of Jehovah through His priests and prophets. With the passing of dynastic hopes (§ 420) the apocalyptic type of thinking

(§ 500) steadily gained ground in the popular mind. No one doubted that God would carry out His plans in His own good time. Most men interpreted those plans in a political sense, expecting that their fulfilment meant the political headship of the world for Israel, and a centralizing of all influence, political and religious alike, at Jerusalem. How this could come about, except by catastrophic action on the part of God, who would sweep away all those opposing His purpose, they could not see. They quite forgot or failed to appreciate the real meaning of Isaiah 52: 13 to 53: 12 with its picture of triumph through suffering, not through conquest. During the last three centuries of this period the apocalyptic type of thinking quite overshadowed other types, inflaming the popular mind with unwholesome hopes. Still, as the older prophets so truly declared, God always had a "remnant," a group of choice, spiritually-minded, faithful souls, who longed, like the aged Simeon and Anna (Luke 2: 25-38), for the manifestation of the grace and redemptive power of God.

Within these centuries Judaism received a testing which was indeed a baptism of fire. The Persian empire gave way before the swift, resistless attack of the Grecian conqueror, Alexander the Great. The Jewish people became subjects of various Grecian powers. This brought Judaism as the characteristic expression of the Jewish mind and heart, into contrast, and, at last, into conflict with Hellenism as the embodied idealism and ambition of the aggressive Greeks. Out of this struggle emerged a stronger Judaism, improved in some respects, but stimulated in several unhealthy tendencies, which developed disadvantageously. The story of Judaism's struggles is fascinating. No one can understand the nation of our Lord's day with its bitter prejudices, its splendid ideals, its scorn of compromise, its inveterate pride, its responsiveness to Jesus individually and its absolute indifference, as a religious organization, to Him, unless he appreciates the varied forces at work within and upon the nation from the days of Ezra to those of the Herods. Except for the

brief Maccabean period, its history must be told prosaically. Great personalities give way, not in reality, but apparently, to professional guilds and parties and racial movements. Yet life was very active and well worth the living. Judaism grew steadily stronger and worthily performed her task of preserving for the world the spiritual treasures her noblest souls had discovered.

XVII

THE LAST SEVENTY YEARS OF PERSIAN RULE. 400 TO 332 B.C. (JOEL, JOB, THE CHRONICLER, AND SOME PSALMS.)

(456.) From the days of Nehemiah to the conquest of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great, a period of about a century in length, the affairs of Judea become obscure. Only indirect testimony is available concerning them. Nevertheless, certain facts seem sure. During these years the two sovereigns of greatest importance were Artaxerxes II (called Mnemon), who reigned over the Persian empire from 404 to 358 B.C., and his son, Artaxerxes III (Ochus), who reigned twenty-one years until 337 B.C. The last Persian king, Darius, was decisively defeated by Alexander at Arbela, in 331 B.C. The real rulers of the Judean community were the successive high priests Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan and Jaddua. The last mentioned was a contemporary of Alexander the Great. Their autocracy was tempered by the written law, a fact which helps to explain its rapid attainment of unquestioned authority in the community life. Only twice do we know of any interference with the peace and prosperity of the little people. Josephus tells us that the high priest Johanan murdered his own brother, Joshua, in the very Temple court, whereupon the satrap of Syria inflicted a heavy fine upon the Jews. In the days of Ochus the Jews seem to have been drawn into a rebellion along with the Phoenicians. The great king took summary vengeance upon Jerusalem, and his representative forced an entrance into the sacred Temple, but the city was not destroyed.

The most important facts of the period were the gradual completion of the ceremonial code and of the Pentateuch,

until, in all details, they became the group of books with which we are familiar today, and their general recognition as sacred literature, establishing the first stage of the canonical growth of the Old Testament. The Jews of this period were gradually settling into those distinctive habits which they ever afterwards maintained. Nehemiah and the leaders of his day had to take note of the popular neglect of the Sabbath, but early in the Greek period, years afterward, King Ptolemy captured Jerusalem with ridiculous ease, because no Jew would take up arms on the Sabbath. Sabbath usages, the great festivals, the sacrificial system, the careful adjustment of daily living to ritual requirements, the elaboration of the laws respecting priests and Levites, the development of liturgical services, the recognition of an administrative or advisory group of priests and nobles — these were the interests of the period. We can see quite a difference between the average Jew of Nehemiah's day and the Jew of the early Greek age, as the latter is reflected in the Chronicler's writings and in current history. His energies centered to an extraordinary degree in the Temple and its interests. He supported cheerfully a relatively large number of Temple officers and ministrants. He rejoiced in the dignity and impressiveness of the regulated ceremonial. He bent himself quite seriously to the task of doing his individual share in its support. In course of the peaceful years the community grew in numbers and in resources, as well as in these institutional ways. The scribes increased in importance as rapidly as the priesthood. I Chron. 2: 55 is an indication of their organization into guilds of some sort. They were held in high respect as the interpreters of the sacred Law.

1. Joel's Interpretation of Locust Ravages as a Manifestation of Divine Alertness and a Summons to Repentance.

The Prophecy of Joel.

(457.) 1. The unprecedented character and extent of the locust plague. 1: 2-4.
2. The distress of wine drinkers, priests and farmers. 1: 5-12.
3. The summons of the people to a penitential assembly. 1: 13, 14.
4. The terribleness of the visitation. 1: 16-20.
5. The devastation wrought by the locust army and its irresistible advance. 2: 1-9.
6. A call to heartfelt and timely repentance. 2: 10-14.
7. The great penitential assembly and its prayer for mercy. 2: 15-17.
8. Jehovah's answer and gracious promises of relief and restoration. 2: 18-27.
9. Signs of the coming Day of Jehovah. 2: 28-32.
10. The judgment of the nations in the valley of Jehoshaphat. 3: 1-3.
11. The special punishment for Phoenicia and Philistia. 3: 4-8.
12. The summoning of the nations for the conflict. 3: 9-12.
13. The great battle and its outcome. 3: 14-17.
14. The future blessedness of Judah. 3: 18-21.

The book of Joel is remarkable for its quotations from other prophetic writings — Amos, Zephaniah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, Malachi and Obadiah. Some scholars regard these quotations as the insertions of an editor on the ground that they are less forceful than the passages which are directly attributable to Joel. He was more of a churchman than an old-time prophet. His poetical power was of the first order.

(458.) **The Message of Joel.** It is clear that Joel spoke to the post-exilic community of the last Persian century, but before the days of Ochus. Religious interests dominate all others in his prophecy and center at the Temple. The people can all get together. Jehovah's discipline demands united prayer and fasting, a greater care in worship, as an expression of sincere repentance. These were the conditions of 400 B.C. Locust swarms unprecedented in number had visited Judah with destruction. The prophet interpreted this calamity as a summons to repentance. He calls a great penitential assembly. No finer descriptive passages than his graphic appeals for repentance are in the Old Testament. Jehovah responds

with promises that blessings shall make up the dearth and that a new spirit, purifying and enlightening, shall possess the people. He voices the attitude of his people toward the outside world in the prediction of the sweeping judgment in the valley of Jehoshaphat upon the nations, resulting in a Jerusalem in which there shall be no strangers (3:17).

2. The Samaritan Schism and its Outcome. (Neh. 13:28.)

(459.) There is some question regarding the date of the religious rupture between the Jewish community and the Samaritans. Josephus dates it in the high priesthood of Jaddua, the contemporary of Alexander, and many other facts tend to confirm his statement. Neh. 13:28 gives the essential facts. A member of the high-priestly family of Judah married a daughter of Sanballat, the Samaritan chief, in express disobedience to the newly adopted Law, and was expelled from Judah. He took with him a copy of the sacred Law and became the high priest of a new Temple which Sanballat built for him on Mount Gerizim. This Temple and its services were virtually duplicates of those at Jerusalem. The two communities shared the same traditions and ideals, but their rivalry developed a bitter, mutual hatred, which, in course of time, grew beyond healing.

3. The Two Literary Triumphs of the Age: Job and the Chronicler's History.

(460.) We should expect that many liturgical psalms would make their appearance at this time, and that proverbial collections would begin to take form. Psalms and proverbs became increasingly popular, and yet the two works which gave greatest lustre to the close of the Persian period were the masterpiece of Wisdom composition, the book of Job, and the second great production of ecclesiastical circles, the historical work of the Chronicler and his group, the books of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah.

(461.) **The Book of Job.** The writer of the book of

Job was a great poet as well as a sage. He gave the world of his day and ours a powerful study of the problem of the suffering of good people. The Hebrews were tempted to think that goodness should guarantee health, wealth and happiness in this life (John 9:2). Such a view degraded religion by making it a bargain counter experience, and endangered it by encouraging good men and women to resent a calamity they could not understand. The problem came close home to loyal Israelites of the fourth century B.C. Although they seemed to be doing their best to live up to the standards approved by Jehovah, they found the coveted prosperity and glory little more than a dream. The author of the dramatic poem introduces Job as a man who had not consciously sinned and yet, for reasons hidden to him, was deprived of wealth, posterity and respect, and was afflicted with a loathsome disease. Naturally, he was perplexed, but submitted uncomplainingly to God's will (1:20-22; 2:10). The sympathy of his lifelong friends (2:11-13) broke down the reserve of his tortured soul, and led him to curse the day of his birth, and to ask why God should prolong his misery (3). This outcry shocked the friends who had come to comfort him. They felt that he had lost his religion. They undertook to bring him back to normal views of life and God. They remembered, however, that he had been a righteous man all his days, and began, very gently, a long discussion of his case, in which each friend reveals an individuality of his own — Eliphaz being the dignified, thoughtful, slightly mystical student of life, Bildad a commonplace mind, satisfied by tradition, and Zophar a blunt, opinionated man. They really represent three natural and universal types of mind and approaches to truth. When Job refuted their assertions, he had traversed the customary arguments of men with reference to suffering. In the first round of the discussion (4-14), the friends reminded Job of the nature of God, His purity, righteousness and wisdom, and urged Job assume that He was just and to submit to Him. Job admitted God's power, but denied

God's just use of that power in his case. In the second round (15-21), they pointed out the sure and distressing fate of the wicked, whose tormented lives are tragically brief and without posterity. They apparently hoped that Job would make the application to himself. Job denied the truth of their descriptions, scouted the aptness of the parallel, and expressed only the desire for a chance to make his innocence known to God. In the third round (22-31), the friends charged him directly with intentional wickedness. This he denied and, in a wonderful review of his life (29-31), appealed to God for a chance to meet Him face to face as a fair-minded Judge. Jehovah appeared in the storm cloud and gave Job a vision of divine reality and of the divine presence and power which satisfied him (38-42). The growth of Job's own spiritual self is the finest element in this marvellous study of the human soul. Through suffering and by loyalty to his convictions, Job won confident faith in God; this very assurance led him to believe in a future life (19: 25-27). Meanwhile, the sense which he gained of God's presence brought healing and blessedness to his soul. The book of Job goes straight to the heart of the world's perennial problem, and gives it a human and adequate solution, not philosophical, but religious. The man whose faith is deep and strong endures misfortune bravely, and wins something infinitely better than wealth or children or freedom from pain.

(462.) **The Chronicler's History of Judah.** One who thinks back to the days of the two kingdoms can readily appreciate the motives which would have moved a group of priests or scribes of the fourth century B.C. to rewrite the history covered by the books of Samuel and Kings, so far as it applied to Judah or the Temple. The Judea of the fourth century lived in another world than the Judah of 1000 B.C. The Chronicler attributed the absence in the prophetic histories of the ecclesiastical details, so important in his own day, to a lack of interest on the part of the prophetic historians and proceeded to study the days of David, Jehoshaphat, Asa, Hezekiah, and Josiah afresh, and to bring out the facts as he saw them. Neces-

sarily, his picture of the pre-exilic age was somewhat idealized. His account of the ceremonies on great occasions (II Chron. 29, 31, 35) throws more light upon the usages of his own day than upon those of the earlier centuries. But, like the writer of P, he contributed what in his day was deemed a proper emphasis upon Israel's institutional life. Professor Fowler* calls attention to the three eras of historical writing in Israel: (1) during the three centuries from 950-650 B.C., when writers pictured human experience in charming, simple, natural narratives, forming the substance of the prophetical histories; (2) during the age of Deuteronomic influence from 650-450 B.C., when the religious interpretation of those narratives of experience created the historical works of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, which emphasize the active presence of God and burn with moral conviction; (3) from the days of Judaism onward, when these writings were reinterpreted and made to exhibit the orderly development of Israel's ceremonial religion. We may be very thankful for each type of history. A great and permanent aspect of religion is behind each one.

XVIII

ALEXANDER THE GREAT'S CONQUEST OF ASIA AND INTRODUCTION OF AGGRESSIVE HELLENISM. 332-168 B.C. (JONAH; ISAIAH 24-27; ZECHARIAH 9-14; THE SONG OF SONGS; PROVERBS; ECCLESIASTES; ECCELSIASTICUS; DANIEL 2, 7, 8, 11.)

(463.) Historians have often pointed out the dramatic suddenness with which Alexander the Great converted the Persian empire into a Hellenic dominion. The writer of the book of Daniel described him (8: 5, 21) as the he-goat leaping out of the west so swiftly that he scarcely seemed to touch the ground at all. His military exploits have remained for centuries one of the wonders of the world. But the great Macedonian conqueror began with this invasion a greater conquest, the significance of which has not been so clearly seen. He was the enthusiastic

**The Literature of Ancient Israel, 307f.*

champion of Hellenism, and dreamed of making it the dominant force in the world of his day. His motives were, no doubt, mixed, partly selfish, at least racially so, and partly altruistic. Conscious of a civilization far superior to that of the rest of the world, he desired to establish it everywhere. His own career was too brief for the completion of such a colossal ambition as this, but his successors cherished and furthered it in their less effective way. Neither barbarism nor the semi-civilization of the Persians could withstand the attacks of Hellenism. It soon dominated most of the Asiatic world as far east as the Indies.* In Judaism, however, this pan-Hellenic movement found a worthy and persistent foe, desirous of avoiding a needless conflict, but determined to maintain its own identity and vitality. The story of the Greek dominance over Judea and the Jewish people wherever they were living is that of a century and a half of submission politically, but of slow and steady consolidation and concentration religiously. Judaism may not have been aware of a coming conflict, but she was being strengthened for it. Her multiform activity was all of a character to intensify and strengthen the loyalty of the Jewish people to their distinctive institutions and their ancient ideals.

For the history of this Greek period the chief Jewish sources of information are Daniel 7-12, Ecclesiasticus, I Maccabees 1, II Maccabees 1-7, and, most definitely, the writings of Josephus, who mingles tradition and fact in his "Antiquities" and evidently aims to glorify his people, but after all affords a true perspective. He says but little about the Greek period, and must be supplemented by the Greek historians, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, and Appian, who, however, dwell chiefly on data of interest to a Greek.

(464.) **Alexander the Great, and his Campaigns. (334-323 B.C.)** Alexander was a marvel alike for his skill in war and for his statesmanship. Inheriting from his father, Philip, in 336 B.C., the control of Thrace and

*For the extent of Alexander's dominions see the comparative map facing page 218 and the larger map of Asia facing page 230.

Thessaly, the headship of Greece, an annual revenue of one thousand talents, and the dream of a pan-Hellenic empire, Alexander speedily established himself as the recognized leader of the Greek armies against the Persians. Early in 334 B.C. he crossed with a small army of skilled veterans into Asia. The battle of Granicus in that year made him master of the Greek colonies of Asia Minor; the battle of Issus a year later opened the way to Syria and Egypt, the siege and capture of Tyre in July, 332 B.C., and the founding of Alexandria at the mouth of the Nile in the same year; the battle of Arbela, October 1, 331 B.C., gave him the control of the Asiatic world. Within three years he had established his authority to the boundary of India. In three years more, by the summer of 325 B.C., he had compelled submission to his authority as far as the river Indus. Two years later, in June, 323 B.C., he died in the midst of plans for the hellenization of Asia and the unification of the world. His tolerance, enthusiasm, insight and ambition made him the creator of a new type of empire, one which should enlist all the virtues and powers of Asiatic kingdoms, but organize them into a new social unity and infuse them with the Hellenic spirit.

Before Alexander's day the Greeks came into little touch, except in Egypt, with the Jews. The traditions, recounted by Josephus, of Alexander's visit to the Temple, where he worshipped, and of the special privileges which he granted to the Jews, are rather questionable. Quite probably, however, some Jews were of service to him, and with equal probability, the Greek scholars who followed in his train found the Jews the most interesting and sympathetic of all the peoples they met.

(465.) **Hellenism versus Judaism.** Under Alexander and his successors the Jews were welcomed at Alexandria as valuable citizens. In the northeastern quarter of that wonderful city the Jews lived together as a great community under their own laws and leaders, just as in Palestine. Here they grew wealthy, influential and liberally minded. The culture of Greece met Hebrew faith

at Alexandria on even terms. The immediate effect of Alexander's conquest of Asia was, therefore, beneficial to the Jews. Alexandria quickly supplanted Babylon, Susa and every other city as a foreign home for Jews. The Jews in Alexandria surpassed in numbers, as in wealth or breadth of mind, their brethren in Palestine.

In Alexandria or other great commercial centers the natural conflict between Hellenic culture, ideas and institutions and those of Judaism did not become acute, because the Jews kept their business life and their private, social or religious life distinct. On the soil of Palestine the situation was different. The two types of life were bound to clash. Hellenism was a social movement, kindling patriotism, inspiring decadent peoples to a higher and broader type of life, preaching the brilliant, joyous, virile, artistic use of power. Judaism was a religious faith, sturdy, serious, believing in moral ideals and issues, and cultivating holiness. To a Jew a Greek seemed light-minded, unmoral, often godless; to a Greek a Jew seemed intolerant, narrow and stupid, concerned with trifles. The greatest difference was that the Greek ideal was at heart a selfish one; the Hebrew ideal was at heart sacrificial.

(466.) **The Century-long Struggle between Alexander's Two Principal Successors, the Ptolemies of Egypt and the Seleucids of Syria, over the Possession of Palestine. (301-198 B.C.)** When Alexander the Great died in 323 B.C., his empire was soon partitioned between his generals. Their fortunes varied during the next two decades; but at the battle of Ipsus in 301 B.C., Western Asia was virtually divided between Ptolemy, who took Egypt, and Seleucus, who ruled the rest of Asia.* Palestine, lying just between Egypt and Syria, was awarded to Ptolemy, who, with his successors, managed to hold it for upwards of a century. Alexandria was the center of the outside world to Judea. The Jews were happy and prosperous under the mild rule of the Ptolemies, the city grew strong, and the distinctive developments of Judaism

*For Western Asia after the battle of Ipsus, see the map facing page 218

were emphasized. Judaism had a chance to "get set."

The Seleucids of Syria coveted the control of Palestine. This was natural, since Palestine is really a physical part of Syria. Moreover in the forests of the Lebanons was timber of great value, and through the plains and passes of Palestine flowed the steady stream of southern commerce. Most of all, Palestine was the eastern gateway to Egypt. They warred with Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-246 B.C.), and Ptolemy Euergetes (246-221 B.C.), but without avail. Finally Antiochus III, the Great (223-187 B.C.), found himself opposed by Ptolemy IV (221-204 B.C.), whom he despised. He overran Palestine in 218 B.C., but was badly defeated the next year at Raphia and forced to retreat. When Ptolemy V, Epiphanes (204-181 B.C.) came to the throne, a mere child, Antiochus had become a famous conqueror. He again invaded Palestine and, after one reverse, drove out the Egyptians and assumed control in 198 B.C. The Jews were losers rather than gainers by the change. Their new masters were not as easy going and tolerant as the Ptolemies had been.

(467.) **The Check Administered to Antiochus III by the Romans.** Having taken Palestine from Egypt, Antiochus the Great was intending to add Egypt to his extensive dominions, but he was forbidden by the Romans, who had no desire to see all Asia under one ruler. He vowed to drive them out of the Greek world; but at Thermopylae in 191 B.C., and at Magnesia in 190, he was crushingly defeated, forced to yield all Asia Minor north of the Taurus Mountains, and to pay fifteen thousand talents. While plundering a temple to get the money to pay this fine he lost his life.

(468.) **The Sages of Israel and their Writings.** During this century the learned men of Judea belonged predominantly to one of two groups, the scribes and the sages. The scribal profession was highly regarded. Its members were the interpreters, teachers and guardians of the Law. To it could aspire any able youth; in it he found a real career. The scribes of this age were liberal of mind,

keen and truly studious. More or less closely related to them were the wise men, another influential class in the community, distinguishable chiefly by the object of their efforts as scholars and teachers. Jer. 18: 18 bears witness to the existence of these sages in earlier days. They even go back as far as David's time. (II Sam. 14: 2.)

The Greek period was a harvest time of Hebrew wisdom. It found then its ripest expression and its opportunity for publication. To this century may be ascribed with considerable confidence the completion and issue of the Proverb collections, many of the reflective psalms, and the book of Ecclesiastes, together with the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus.

The wisdom psalms are those which deal with the moral order of the universe, such as Psalms 73 and 49 and 37, or with divine providence, such as Psalms 90 and 1, or 121 and 112. They express the point of view of wisdom more by flashes of insight than by any sustained argument. Their answer to the anomalies of the world is the existence and power of Almighty God.

(469.) **The Book of Proverbs.** The book of Proverbs is a collection of collections and represents some seven centuries of history. It is the most representative specimen of the wisdom literature of the Bible, repeating the practical everyday wisdom of good men. It classifies into eleven sections: (1) a title which is purely editorial and perfunctory (1: 1); (2) a statement of the varied purpose of the type of wisdom writing represented in the book (1: 2-6); (3) a sort of text for the prologue which follows (1: 7); (4) the prologue or introduction to the whole book, the "Praise of Wisdom" (1: 8 to 9: 18); (5) a collection of 375 aphorisms entitled "Proverbs of Solomon" (10: 1 to 22: 16); (6) a smaller collection, the "Words of the Wise" (22: 17 to 24: 22); (7) an appendix to that collection, "More Words of the Wise" (24: 23-34); (8) a second collection of Solomonic proverbs (25-29) and three appendices; (9) the "Words of Agur" (30); (10) the "Words of King Lemuel" (31: 1-9); and (11) the alphabetical acrostic on "the ideal housewife."

The Proverbs identify righteousness for the most part with prudence. They follow the pathway of expediency, yet their advice was wholesome and helpful.

(470.) **The Book of Ecclesiasticus.** The apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus or The Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach was written at some date in this century, perhaps toward its close. It was recognized as a part of the Old Testament by the Alexandrian Jews (§11). It is a fine book, a natural sequel to Proverbs, in the main a series of little essays in practical ethics, such as honor to parents, considerateness, niggardliness, choice of company and the use of the tongue. Chapters 44 to 50 contain a rhetorical section in " Praise of Famous Men," which is unique, a natural predecessor of Hebrews 11.

(471.) **The Book of Ecclesiastes.** To this same age must be attributed the book of Ecclesiastes, one of the strangest books in the Old Testament. The writer called himself Koheleth, which means a debater or collector of sentences. His question was, Wherein is the value of living? What is its wages, its profit? He made a study of values and detailed his search for a satisfying object of effort in life, and its failure. Coming to the conclusion that life was a hopeless round, with nothing left over for a future life, he declared that it should be enjoyed and used to the full in the present time, every one making the best of it and taking the joy of the day's work as the day goes. Ecclesiastes is valuable in revealing the limitations of a Hebrew thinker who took neither immortality nor fine idealism into account. He had a brave soul, but his message fell far short of the noblest teachings of Israel's prophets.

(472.) **Two Prophetic Apocalypses: Isaiah 24-27 and Zech. 9-14.** Two final prophetic sections seem to belong to this age. The first is Isaiah 24-27, a unique, apocalyptic description of the Day of Jehovah, which may belong to the days of Alexander's victories, interspersed with a series of beautiful songs of rejoicing. It declares that the world is about to be judged because of its sins. Jehovah will assume sovereignty on Zion (24: 23). With a ban-

quet He will welcome the tear-stained world to a life of joyful satisfaction. Jehovah's own people will be preserved (26:20 to 27:1) and at the sound of the trumpet shall gather from every quarter (27:12, 13).

It is only necessary to read Zechariah 9-14 to realize the marked differences between its extravagance and bitterness and the sobriety of Zechariah 1-8. The six chapters separate into two well-defined sections: 9:1 to 11:17; 13:7-9 and 12:1 to 13:6; 14. The former section announces doom upon the neighbors of Israel, with promises of dominion and prosperity for restored Israel and a king of peace. Then comes successful resistance to the Greeks, a glorious victory and the strengthening and restoration of Jehovah's people. The false shepherds, who have frustrated God's purpose, and the obstinate people shall be cut off (11:4-17; 13:7-9). The second section is highly apocalyptic. The nations are assembled at Jerusalem, but only to be consumed, along with idols, prophets and the unclean spirit (12:1 to 13:6). After terrible affliction Israel's enemies shall be discomfited (14). This chapter vividly shows the vengeful narrowness of apocalypse.

(473.) **The Lyric Poetry of the Age.** As Fowler has pointed out, the Song of Songs was fortunately preserved in the Bible to give us an idea of what the love songs of the people of Judah were like. It is not, strictly speaking, a love drama nor a mere collection of folk songs sung at a wedding, nor, indeed, an allegory representing the love of God and Israel. It is a lyrical glorification of true and tender love that is faithful in spite of the proffer of worldly splendor and that ultimately rewards the rustic lover.

During this age many psalms were added to the growing collections. Probably Psalms 1-89 may be thought of as already grouped together. A fresh group of lyrics originating in the Greek age is the Pilgrim Psalms (120-134). They are very choice and stirring. Another group, equally remarkable, is the Hallel or Praise collection. They are scattered along between Psalm 104 and Psalm 150.

(474.) **A Prophetic Story of God's Love for Humankind: the Book of Jonah.** To the age must probably be also credited one of the finest and most misunderstood portions of the Old Testament, the story of Jonah. It is not a bit of history, but, like the Good Samaritan, a story with a moral. Jonah represented the Jewish people. They had a message for the world, but were reluctant to deliver it. In their blind prejudice they forgot that the love of God covers the whole world, and that He longs for it to repent and turn to Him (4:2.) The point of the story, as in all good stories, is the closing verse.

(475.) **The Varied Activities of Jewish Minds.** The preceding paragraphs illustrate the vigor, value and variety of Jewish thinking in this first century of contact with Hellenic civilization. There were men of God with a deep and true insight into God's purposes, such as the author of the book of Jonah, and with deeply reverent hearts like the writers of Psalms 121 or 125. There were intolerant nationalists such as the author of Zechariah 14. There were strict legalists like the writer of the story about Daniel and his three companions in Daniel 1. These rejoiced in the scrupulous keeping of the letter of the Law. There were scribes who took pride in the record of the institutional development of the nation, and wise men who pondered over the life problems which divine ideals raised. A stimulating freedom of thought prevailed along with a deep and earnest piety.

(476.) **The Accession of Antiochus Epiphanes in 176 B.C. to the Throne of Syria: His Great Ambition.** The grandson of Antiochus the Great, Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.), inherited the ambition of his grandfather to teach the Romans a lesson. He planned to organize a pan-Hellenic confederation which should unite all Greek-speaking Asia and Africa against Rome.* In regard to the means and methods by which this goal should be reached he was wholly unscrupulous. He was ready to make any sacrifice or to commit any crime which would

*For Western Asia in the days of Antiochus, see the map facing page 290.

further his ambition. Moreover, his natural extravagance and love of luxury caused him to be always needing money.

Antiochus developed during the first few years of his reign a hatred for the Jews of Judea, which led him to resolve at all costs to compel them to hellenize. He had planned to add Egypt with its resources to his dominions as a first step in the execution of his anti-Roman policy. The reigning Ptolemy was young and weak. Just as Antiochus was on the brink of success, Rome intervened and compelled him to relinquish his prize. This check made Antiochus a madman. At this inopportune moment he heard that Jerusalem was in revolt against him. He not only looted the Temple and slew many citizens, but conceived a deadly dislike to the Jews as a race. He realized that they would stand out against his policy of hellenization, and set himself with every resource to crush their resolution.

(477.) **His Relentless Policy of Hellenization from 169 to 167 B.C.** The measures of Antiochus were vigorous and sweeping. The defenses of Jerusalem were broken down; a garrison of Syrian soldiers was settled in the fortress on the rock which commanded the lower city; the Temple was deliberately desecrated; the reading or ownership of copies of the sacred Law was forbidden, and every copy obtainable was destroyed; the observance of the Sabbath, synagogue worship and the practise of circumcision were forbidden on pain of death; and sacrifice to Olympian Zeus was made a regular duty. He "waxed great toward the Glory (Holy Land)" (Dan. 8: 9). Apparently Judaism was doomed in its own home.

XIX

THE SUCCESSFUL UPRISING OF THE JEWS UNDER MACCABEAN LEADERSHIP. 167-143 B.C. (FIRST AND SECOND MACCABEES, DANIEL, ENOCH, TOBIT, ESTHER, THE COMPLETED PSALTER.)

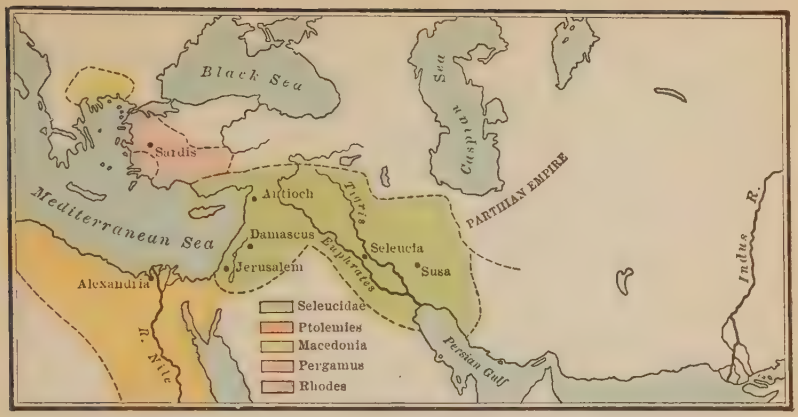
(478.) The exactions of Antiochus were just what was needed to draw out the dauntless spirit of the He-

brew people. They were overwhelmed and paralyzed at first, but not for long. The very moment of the triumph of Antiochus was the beginning of his downfall. Religion was a matter of small moment to him, but to the Judeans it was infinitely precious, more so than life. Antiochus had sacked and burnt the city of Jerusalem; he had murdered thousands of the inhabitants; he had settled in Jerusalem many Greeks and apostate Jews; he had laid waste the Temple. None of these deeds paralleled in Jewish eyes the profanation of the sanctuary and the offering of sacrifices to Olympian Zeus on the altar of burnt offering. This was the "abomination that maketh desolate" (Dan. 11:31; 12:11; 9:27; compare 8:13), or, as Smith prefers to render it, the "appalling abomination." That act of sacrilege made clear the deliberate purpose of Antiochus to destroy Judaism, root and branch. It nerved the people to risk everything they had in resistance. The moment a real leader appeared there were plenty of loyal-hearted Jews to join his fortunes. A struggle commenced, which, while it seemed hopeless at the first, was desperate and unyielding. The Jews were fighting for the existence of everything they held most dear. Against such men, patriotic, devoted, well led, no ordinary methods would serve. They won their way by strategy, skill and good fortune until, in three years from the date of its pollution, the altar was rebuilt, the sacred fire was rekindled and the legal sacrifices resumed at the Temple. For twenty-two years more a Jewish garrison on the well-fortified Temple hill faced a Greek garrison in the citadel, or Akra, which was on the hill of Ophel, the old Davidic stronghold, less than a quarter of a mile away. This garrison could not be dislodged. It was a constant menace to the peace of Jerusalem and the freedom of Temple worship. During most of these years Jerusalem was not a safe political center for Judaism. The headquarters of the Hasmonean leaders and their little armies were at first in the field. During Jonathan's leadership he settled in Jerusalem. Unable to capture the citadel from the Greeks, Jonathan reared a

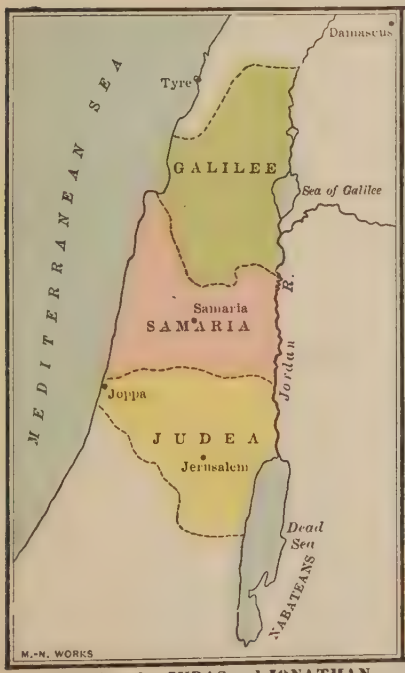
great rampart, which isolated it and made it harmless. In 142 B.C. the starved garrison surrendered to his successor, Simon, and the Jews once more had entire control of their holy city and of their land.

For the story of this quarter century we turn to First and Second Maccabees, and to Josephus. The latter gives the background of the whole period in his writings; the former have the vivid interest of a first-hand, fairly detailed narrative. First Maccabees is a fine, well-balanced history, written in a true religious spirit, well worthy of study. It was probably completed by 125 B.C., soon after Simon's reign. Second Maccabees supplements it on many important points and often goes into fresh details. Second Maccabees is of value, if used with care; for, after the manner of Chronicles, it epitomizes a much larger history of the period by Jason of Cyrene and was evidently written, not far from 50 B.C., to combat the secularizing tendency of that age and to glorify the part which the Jews had taken more than a century before.

(479.) **The Raising of the Standard of Revolt against Antiochus Epiphanes by Mattathias, the Aged Priest of Modein, and his Five Sons. (167 B.C.)** With the support of the Greek party in Jerusalem, headed by the high priest Menelaus, a base, treacherous, venial tool of Antiochus, the measures of the Syrian despot seemed at first successful. Many Jews professed their allegiance to the heathen cult. But the utter godlessness of the whole procedure awakened the real patriots, who suffered unnamable tortures rather than hellenize. They fled to the desert and the mountains, determined to perish rather than apostatize. Meanwhile, the Syrians and their Jewish allies made a systematic search of all Judea, forcing each group of people to submit. At the village of Modein, some twenty miles northwest of Jerusalem, at the extreme corner of Judea, they found a priest named Mattathias, of the family of Hasmon, who with his five stalwart sons had retired thither to await the will of God. When offered rewards if he and his followers would peaceably comply with the commands of Antiochus, Mattathias not



Western Asia in the time of ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, 176-164 B.C.



JUDEA under JUDAS and JONATHAN 164-142 B.C.

JUDEA under ALEXANDER JANNAEUS 104-78 B.C.

only refused to " forsake the law," but slew both a neighbor who stepped forward to make the detested sacrifice and the Syrian commissioner. His impulsive act inaugurated a new chapter in the history of the Hebrew race. Professor Kent aptly compares it in its far-reaching consequences to the slaying of the Egyptian by Moses (§103).

The five sons of Mattathias shared his principles and threw themselves into the conflict. Simon, the eldest, was wise and modest; Judas was an able strategist; Jonathan was crafty and diplomatic, but brave. Each contributed in his own way to the successes of the next quarter century. With their father and " all who were zealous for the covenant," they fled across the central mountain ridge to the fastnesses of the wilderness above the Dead Sea (§140). Here the Syrian soldiers attacked them on a Sabbath, and slaughtered a thousand of them without mercy and with ease, because they would not defend themselves on that day. Soon after, however, the brave priest, his sons and those who rallied to his standard, came to a deliberate conclusion that God's will would be more obeyed and honored by fighting than by perishing. They began a warfare which yielded no advantage to their foes, and rapidly drew into their ranks the patriotic Jews.

(480.) **Judas, the Warrior Son, made Leader.** Within a year Mattathias died, appointing Judas the military leader and Simon as his trusted counsellor, urging them to avenge the wrong of their people and give heed to the commands of the Law (I Mac. 2: 67, 68). Judas was courageous, devoted, patriotic and full of energy. As a strategist he excelled in discovering the enemy's weakness and making it the object of his attack. He gathered about him a fine set of soldiers, men inspired with intense religious zeal, like Cromwell's " Ironsides." He had to fight the trained soldiers of Syria led by experienced generals, outnumbering his army six to one, and often aided by hellenized Jews, who acted as spies; but, by his skill in the only kind of warfare they could not combat, he won victory after victory.

(481.) **The Book of Daniel a Notable Factor in the Judaistic Uprising. (About 166 B.C.)** The visions of the book of Daniel describe with such growing accuracy the great world movements of the Babylonian, Persian and Greek periods, each vision culminating in a description of the persecuting rule of Antiochus Epiphanes (7: 25; 8: 11, 12; 11: 21-45), that the conclusion is natural that the book was a production of these strenuous years of warfare. The historical reviews turn into predictions of the death of Antiochus, the establishment of God's kingdom and the reward of the faithful. These predictions evidently antedate both the recovery of Jerusalem in 165 B.C., and the actual death of Antiochus in the far East in 164 B.C.

The Narratives of Human and Divine Faithfulness. Daniel 1, 3-6.

1. How Daniel and his three companions were blessed because they were faithful to the Law. 1.
2. How Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, who would not worship the golden image, were unhurt by the fiery furnace, protected by His angel. 3.
3. How Nebuchadrezzar, the mighty king, was punished for his pride and acknowledged the Most High. 4.
4. How Belshazzar was punished for his defiance of Jehovah by the sudden loss of his kingdom. 5.
5. How God preserved His servant Daniel even in the den of lions. 6.

Visions of World Empires and of the Heavenly Kingdom. Daniel 2, 7-12.

1. The great image of gold, silver, brass, iron and clay, representing successive kingdoms to be finally replaced by God's eternal kingdom. 2.
2. The Four Great Beasts, the fourth an all-conquering kingdom (7: 24), whose final representative, the little horn (7: 8) shall persecute the righteous for three and one-half " times " (7: 25), only to be overcome in the end. 7.
3. The Ram and the He-Goat, the latter Alexander the Great (8: 21), whose distant successor, the " little horn " (8: 9, 23), did great damage to Jerusalem (8: 9, 11, 12, 24), but shall be eventually destroyed (8: 25). 8.
4. The Seventy Weeks of which the final week is disastrous to the holy city, the temple being defiled (9: 27) in the middle of it. 9.
5. The Greek kingdoms in Asia and their conflicts, concluding with the career of Antiochus (11: 21-39) and a prediction of his end (11: 40-45). 10, 11.
6. The assurance that God through His angel will establish His glorious kingdom. 12.

These stories and visions were of supreme value in giving staying power to the resolute band of faithful Judeans. They declare the power of God, the transitoriness of earthly kingdoms, the certainty of the establishment of His glorious kingdom when martyrs and survivors alike will receive a great reward. The hope of immortality flashes out to illumine the future of the faithful. Whenever the book of Daniel was written, it was a "tract for Maccabean times."

(482.) **Enoch 83-90.** This portion of the book of Enoch contains two great visions, one of a world-judgment, and one of the history of the world up to the judgment, and predictions of divine intervention, which, like those of the book of Daniel, brought a message of comfort and encouragement to the persecuted people of the Maccabean struggle. It seems to belong to the days of Judas. In 90: 15-39 is the earliest unquestionable apocalyptical reference to the Messiah.

(483.) **The Recovery of Jerusalem by Judas in 165 B.C., and the Rededication of the Temple.** Judas was a shrewd leader. He knew his own country well, and chose his battlegrounds where a few brave men could match an army, or where he could surprise his foes. He defeated in succession Apolonius, the Syrian governor of Samaria, Seron, the governor of southern Syria, whose large army was attacked while it was climbing the steep ascent of Bethhoron, and the three generals sent against him by Lysias, the regent of the Seleucidean empire. Finally Lysias himself assembled a huge army which reached the Judean plateau from Philistia. Near Bethsur a great battle took place. Neither side won a decisive victory, but Lysias was forced to retire to Antioch.

Judas and his followers, heartened, enriched with Syrian spoil and jubilant, went at once to Jerusalem and gave themselves to the task of restoring the desecrated Temple, after several years of Syrian control. He cleansed the sanctuary, tore down the altar of Zeus, built a new altar, refurnished the sanctuary and re-established the regular order of worship. Its completion was marked

by a day of great rejoicing and the initiation of an annual feast, known as the Feast of Lights or Dedication, which is still kept by Jews.

(484.) **The Books of Esther, Tobit and Judith.** The Jews at this time were full of hatred and contempt for a Gentile world which dealt so harshly with their interests. They felt that the destruction of the heathen would be the only adequate vindication of God's justice. The spirit of the age is observable, not alone in the apocalypses, but in such a book as Esther. Racial prejudice overmasters religious fervor. The story of Esther exalts loyalty and depicts a fine character, yet it rejoices over precisely what Jonah condemned. A close reading shows that it could not have been written in the Persian age; its spirit of glorification seems to fit right into the stirring days of the Maccabean contest.

Much like Esther is the heroine of the book of Judith, who risked her honor in order to rid her country of a tyrant, and inspired her people to rout their enemies.

Of another character was the book of Tobit, written not much later, and more in the spirit of the book of Jonah. It represents the opinion of the traveled Jew, acquainted with other peoples, familiar with Greek, liberalized in thought and custom. In the case of such a Jew the intense religious pride and bigotry of his Judean relatives shaded into a devotion and reverence which recognized the opportunity which God had given the Hebrew to convert the world.

(485.) **The Last Four Years of the Leadership of Judas.** Judas lost no time in dealing repeated and vigorous blows against the surrounding enemies of the Jews, the Idumeans, Ammonites and the Syrians of Galilee. In a very brief time he overran a territory larger than David's kingdom. He thus gained great prestige, disheartened his enemies, rescued multitudes of Jews and built up the population of Judea into strength.*

He attempted to capture the citadel of Jerusalem,

*For Palestine under his rule and that of Jonathan, see the map facing page 290.

which was garrisoned by Syrian soldiers. This roused Antiochus V, Eupator, the son and heir of Antiochus Epiphanes, who sent a huge army against Judas, defeated him, besieged him in Jerusalem, and might have ended the Maccabean struggle, had not complications at Antioch made a withdrawal advisable. Before going, Antiochus made a treaty with Judas which granted full religious liberty to the Jews. With this many of the followers of Judas were satisfied, and were unwilling to fight longer. Antiochus appointed as high priest Alcimus, a leader of the hellenizing party, whom Judas distrusted and prevented from the exercise of his functions. Alcimus fled to Antioch, complained to the new king, Demetrius, that Judas was plotting high treason, and was sent back with an army behind him, which, though twice defeated, was replaced by another. Terror or jealousy had thinned the ranks of the army of Judas, until he was obliged to face more than twenty thousand soldiers under Bacchides with eight hundred men. In the fierce struggle that followed the heroic leader fell.

(486.) **The Work of Judas.** At Eleasa perished a brave and noble soul. He had won for his people the priceless boon of religious freedom, he had built up Judea, he had set a fine example of devotedness and persistency, and had inspired many with a vision of political independence. In many respects he repeated the work of Joshua.

(487.) **The Leadership of Jonathan. (161-143 B.C.)** With the death of Judas the three remaining brothers and their followers became outlaws. The hellenistic faction, led by Alcimus and supported by Bacchides, was supreme. Alcimus even dared to order the barrier which separated the outer and inner courts of the Temple to be pulled down, so that there would be no difference between Jews and Gentiles. His sudden death in 160 B.C. stopped this work and was regarded by loyal Jews as an act of divine retribution. Such measures soon caused the faithful to long for their old leadership. Jonathan was chosen "ruler and captain." He was a clever leader, quick to

take advantage of sudden openings. In his day the possession of the throne of Syria was bitterly contested, especially after 152 B.C., when a pretender, Alexander Balas, raised the standard of revolt against Demetrius I. By 150 B.C., Balas succeeded in defeating Demetrius, put him to death and ascended the throne for five years (150-145 B.C.). In 158 B.C. Demetrius permitted Jonathan to settle at Micmash within the bounds of Judea and to become the ruler of the Judeans as his vassal, kept in check by the garrisons at the citadel at Jerusalem and in a series of fortresses built by Bacchides at strategic points, such as Jericho, Emmaus, Bethhoron, Bethel, Bethsur, and other unidentified places. For six years Jonathan quietly grew in strength under these conditions. In 153 he made Jerusalem his residence. When Alexander Balas attacked Demetrius in 152 B.C., Demetrius, to keep Jonathan loyal, permitted him to organize a small standing army and to rebuild the fortifications of Mt. Zion and of Jerusalem. Syrian soldiery were left only in the citadel at Jerusalem and at Bethsur. Hearing what Demetrius had done, Alexander Balas appointed Jonathan to the vacant high priesthood and sent him princely insignia, thus recognizing him as the civil and religious head of the Jewish state. Under Balas (150-145 B.C.), Jonathan's power rapidly increased. He was made governor of Judea. When Balas was threatened by Demetrius II, Jonathan obtained control of much of Philistia by fighting on his sovereign's behalf. Balas was defeated in 145 B.C., and Demetrius II (145-140 B.C.) ascended the Syrian throne. Jonathan had already begun to lay siege to the citadel in Jerusalem. Summoned to the presence of Demetrius to explain this hostile act, he succeeded by gifts and diplomacy in winning the friendship of Demetrius, a strip of Samaritan territory, and a promise of exemption from tribute in return for the lump sum of three hundred talents. Unable to take the citadel, he built the great wall which isolated it (§478), and led to its surrender to Simon. Soon afterwards Jonathan fell a victim to treachery, and was immediately succeeded in

the leadership by Simon, the one remaining brother of the original Hasmonean leaders and, in many respects, the noblest and most able of them all, the one who had modestly and steadily upheld the authority of his brothers for twenty-three years. Demetrius needed Simon's loyal adhesion and, being assured of his support, recognized Simon as high priest, confirmed the promises made to Jonathan and remitted the payment of tribute. Thus the year 143 B.C. became the starting point of a real Jewish independence.

XX

THE PERIOD OF JEWISH INDEPENDENCE. 143 TO 63 B.C. (FIRST MACCABEES 13-16; JOSEPHUS; SIMILITUDES OF ENOCH; EARLY SIBYLLINE ORACLES; WISDOM OF SOLOMON.)

(488.) From the beginning of Simon's beneficent rule until Pompey's virtual annexation of Judea to Rome's dominions was only eighty years. They were years of disappointment and distress in many particulars, yet significant, after all, for Judaism. They had particular value in binding together the great Jewish world, in intensifying the dedication of the Jews as a people to God's service, in developing the expectation of a Messiah and in impressing upon the thinking outside world some sense of the truths which were great and living realities to a Jew. The history of the period, even when told by a Jew who loved his people, reveals the fact that the people of Judea were their own worst foes. Internal dissensions were chiefly responsible for wrecking the Hasmonean kingdom. The rulers were not quite strong enough to carry their discordant, perhaps incompatible duties as civil and religious rulers, and found it hardly possible to hold the loyalty of both of the two rapidly diverging parties, the Pharisees and Sadducees. Their method of meeting emergencies was to ignore them and to plunge into such conquests as were possible. They thus increased their dominions and their prestige, but permitted the state to become gradually a camp of warring factions, who hated one another more than they did an outside foe.

The Hasmonean kings did much for Jerusalem by way of its embellishment and strengthening. They made three marked changes. They built a palace on the southwest hill, lowered the level of the old citadel south of the Temple to that of the rest of the ridge, and built a new citadel to the northwest of the Temple to replace the old one.

(489.) **The Happy Rule of Simon. (143-135 B.C.)** Simon was a real father of his people who brought great peace and prosperity to them. Having expelled the Syrian garrison from Jerusalem, he fortified the Temple area. Called to account by Antiochus Sidetes for these acts and for the conquest of Gezer and Joppa, his son, John Hyrcanus, thoroughly defeated the army of Antiochus. Thereafter Simon was left in peace. His grateful people proclaimed him the civil, military and religious head of Judea. He refrained from calling himself king, but he was a true sovereign. Like his predecessors, he cultivated friendly relations with Rome. Whether this measure was wise or not is open to question; Rome's friendship was somewhat dangerous for little states.

(490.) **The Completion of the Psalter.** Not later than the reign of Simon and perhaps much earlier, the Psalter was brought to completion. The date rests especially upon the question of the existence of Maccabean psalms. Psalm 74 is thought to refer rather clearly to the spoliation of the Temple by Antiochus. The question whether the Psalter was completed in the Greek or in the Maccabean age is not of great importance. The Psalter as now printed is separated into five books. This is regarded as a technical division, paralleling the Pentateuch, and of no great significance. The three great divisions, 1-41, 42-89 and 90-150, represent stages of editing into compact collections. The Psalter was Judaism's great religious hymnal. From a time to which no one can give a date, but probably at least four centuries earlier than Simon's day, it had been at once the expression and the incentive of every phase of religious aspiration. It reflects the inner consciousness of Israel, but likewise of all godly souls.

The imprecations and the low ideals which may be found here and there are found in the same proportion in the average heart and for similar reasons. The Psalter is the world's interpreter of God to man. God is its great reality. It seizes upon eternal things and interprets them to human need. Hence, mankind will use these " praises of Israel" while the world stands.

(491.) **The Vigorous and Prosperous Reign of John Hyrcanus. (135-105 B.C.)** Simon did not escape the customary fate of the sons of Mattathias. His very prosperity made him the object of envy and hatred. His own trusted son-in-law, Ptolemy, murdered Simon and two of his sons at a banquet given in Simon's honor. No doubt Ptolemy expected to succeed Simon, but the third son, John Hyrcanus, escaped to Jerusalem, where he was welcomed. The murderer escaped, after putting the mother of John to death. Antiochus Sidetes, the reigning Syrian king, seized the opportunity to invade Judea. Jerusalem was besieged and capitulated, the walls being partially destroyed and a heavy war tax imposed. Five years later the death of Antiochus left John Hyrcanus practically free, a condition which endured for half a century. For half of this time, Hyrcanus ruled without a rival. He set himself to the task of enlarging his dominions and making them secure. Employing mercenaries he campaigned, first across the Jordan, then in Samaria. He destroyed the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim, which for at least two centuries had been a defiant rival of the Temple at Jerusalem. (§459). This intensified the hatred which had been growing up between the Jews and their Samaritan neighbors. Idumea was next visited. The Edomites had been the persistent foes of the Jews on their southern border. Hyrcanus soon conquered them and compelled the inhabitants to choose between Judaism or exile. It was a mistaken policy, since the absorption of the Edomites opened the way to a series of fatal misfortunes to his family. Samaria was the last country to submit to his prowess. Eventually Hyrcanus ruled over a small empire ranging from the southern hills of Galilee

to the southern desert, and from the Mediterranean to the eastern desert. The captives and treasure he had won enabled Hyrcanus to beautify and strengthen Jerusalem. He built the new castle which remained thenceforth the stronghold for the masters of the city (Acts 21:34, 37), a new palace, and probably the high level aqueduct of which Philo writes. Hyrcanus was more of a king than a high priest; the absurdity of his exercise of the holy office was patent. A large and influential party among his subjects felt outraged by its continuance, and gave expression to their opinion. Hyrcanus did not yield to their desires, but treated them as conspirators against the peace and dignity of his kingdom. Fortunately for him there was no rupture during his life.

(492.) **The Three Jewish Parties: Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes.** During the reigns of Jonathan, Simon and John, the lines were being drawn which created the two great parties of later Judaism. The Pharisees grew out of that body of devout and loyal men who stood by Judas in his struggles on behalf of Judaism. They were essentially a religious group, not as anxious for political independence as for holiness; indeed, political ambitions did not stir them at all. When religious freedom had been won they were satisfied, and felt that the nation's energies should be centered on obedience to the Law with full faith in God's power to take care of His people. They spent their energies and resources on the teaching and interpretation of the Law, so that the nation could be indeed holy in God's sight. They looked for the Messiah, and believed that when He appeared the faithful would be raised from the dead to live with Him. Theirs was a clear, consistent, attractive faith, which won the adhesion of the masses.

The Sadducees were fewer in numbers than the Pharisees, but were powerful. They were mainly aristocrats, worldly minded priests, obeying the literal commands of the Law, but not stretching them, questioning the resurrection and a future retribution as being new additions to Jewish faith. They naturally welcomed Hellenic

culture, and were willing to gain advantage through foreign alliances or clever diplomacy or mercenary troops or in any other available way. They seemed to the Pharisees to lack seriousness or real piety and were despised. The two parties developed so bitter an antagonism that they wrecked the Hasmonean kingdom rather than to get together.

The Essenes were a sect rather than a party. They sought purity and goodness, but represented an extreme Pharisaism in their methods of attainment. They were ascetics who lived apart from social or civil life in communities. Their life was simple, devout and orderly, that of a monastic brotherhood. They had neither the fierce pride of the Pharisee nor the scornful skepticism of the Sadducee. They delighted in ministering to the humble, poor and feeble. John the Baptist may have spent his early years with them. There never were more than four thousand of the Essenes. The whole movement blended into monasticism.

(493.) **The Complete Translation for Alexandrian Jews of the Old Testament into Greek.** As early as the days of Ptolemy Philadelphus (about 250 B.C.), a monumental task of great importance and interest began at Alexandria in Egypt, which was continued for upwards of a century, until it was completed. This task was the translation of the Hebrew Old Testament into Hellenistic Greek. Alexandria was the great intellectual capital of Judaism. In the days of Simon it has been estimated that a million Jews lived in Egypt. Many of these were wealthy and cultured, but also devout. They had built a temple at Leontopolis as a rallying place in the days when the Syrian persecutions made pilgrimages to Jerusalem impossible. The new Greek translation was a far greater achievement. It put the Scriptures into a handy book form (§14); it arranged the books in a literary order; it made the Scriptures available to the widespread Greek-speaking world. But best of all, it was the first of a long line of noble translations of which the American Standard Revised Version is the conclusion and crown. The Greek

version came to be known as the Septuaginta or Seventy, because of the tradition, wholly without foundation, of course, that it was produced by seventy-two rabbis in as many days, each making a separate version, and all agreeing absolutely. This tradition, entertainingly told with much additional information concerning Palestinian and Egyptian affairs in the second century, may be found in the Letter of Aristaeas, written about 200 B.C.

(494.) **The Completion of the Old Testament Canon.** It is not easy to give a date to the virtual completion of the Old Testament in Hebrew. The Pentateuch, as we have seen (§447), was recognized as sacred Scripture about 400 B.C. The historical writings (except those of the Chronicler and Ruth and Esther) and the prophetical writings (except Daniel) were recognized in their present form not later than 200 B.C., and possibly half a century earlier. The "Writings" may well have been collected, edited and published in their present form during the years preceding 100 B.C. The status of Daniel, Ecclesiastes and Esther was not officially settled until 90 A.D., at the rabbinical council of Jamnia (§ 528), but, practically speaking, they were regarded as Scriptural for the two preceding centuries.

(495.) **The Growth of Scribal Influence.** During the Maccabean era the Jews grew to be a "people of the book." They had a profound respect for the authority of their Scriptures as expressing the will of God. The scribes who were the interpreters of these treasures gained a new prominence. The synagogue became more and more the working center of community life. The great desire of the Pharisees to render strict and complete obedience to the Law began to develop that exaltation of petty details and the marvelously intricate scheme of obedience which gradually made Pharisaic Judaism a social burden and a religious hindrance.

(496.) **The Ambitious but Disastrous Reigns of Aristobulus (105-104 B.C.) and Alexander Jannaeus (104-78 B.C.)** When Hyrcanus died he tried to placate the factions in his kingdom by making his eldest son, Aristo-

bulus, high priest and leaving the government to his wife. But Aristobulus imprisoned his mother and assumed entire control. He was a natural despot and a Hellenist in sympathies. He added a part of Iturea and perhaps of Galilee to his dominions, but died soon afterward. He was succeeded by the third son of Hyrcanus, the least religious, the most unscrupulous and ambitious of his race, a man of despotic tendencies, treacherous and revengeful. This ruler was most offensive as a high priest to the religiously minded of Judea. Ministering once at the Temple he ignored the strict rules of procedure, whereupon there was a riot, resulting in a massacre of the people and the erection of a permanent barrier around the Temple and altar which wholly excluded the laity. Jannaeus depended for support and counsel more and more upon the Sadducees; while, despite the loyalty of Alexandra, his wife, to the Pharisees, they, as a party, developed a deadly hatred for the king. He was usually at war, and managed to maintain himself and add to his dominions.* But his reign accomplished three deplorable results. It estranged the loyalty of the finest Judeans to the Hasmonean dynasty; it developed a murderous rivalry between Pharisees and Sadducees; and it drained the resources of his conglomerate kingdom. Its glory was unsubstantial.

(497.) **The "Golden Age" of Alexandra. (78-69 B.C.)** Alexandra, the wife of Jannaeus, succeeded to his throne, the second queen in Israel's history. She reversed her husband's policy, for her sympathies were with the Pharisees, who had full control during her reign. Her famous brother, Simon ben Shetach, was a leader in whatever was done. Naturally there was little war and much internal reorganization. According to the Talmud, Simon introduced elementary schooling in connection with each synagogue, and instruction became the duty of the scribes instead of parents. A regular annual Temple tax was also imposed on every Israelite. These two changes were of great importance to Judaism. In Alexandra's day also

*For the extent of his dominions, see the map facing page 290.

the Sanhedrin was reorganized and scribes were admitted to its membership. Her nine years were golden days for the Pharisees. They misused their power, however, by putting many Sadducees to death, whereupon Alexandra made the mistake of permitting the Sadducees to retire to the greater portion of the fortresses of the land for protection. They waited there in security for a turn of fortune.

(498.) **The Apologetic Jewish Writings.** The contentions of Judaism with Hellenism for more than a century seemed incomprehensible to the average Greek. He disliked and despised, just as the average Roman did, so peculiar a people. The Jews of the greater Hellenic world were exposed to all sorts of attack. They were treated unjustly by Greek and Roman writers. In defense of their own ideas and practises the Jews not only translated their Scriptures into Greek (§ 493), but wrote apologetic literature. Demetrius, about 215 B.C., wrote a fulsome history of the Jewish kings. Aristobulus, the philosopher, tried to harmonize Jewish with Greek conceptions. Some writers took such a historian as Hecataeus, who had written in friendly fashion about the Jews, and expanded what he had written. The crowning example of their activity is the third book of the Sibylline Oracles, lines 97-817, which sketched the history of the world to Roman times, prophesied Israel's future and the Messianic blessings and appealed to the world to abandon idolatry and worship the one true God. Multitudes who ignored the philosophers were really impressed by these Homeric hexameters, which were unquestionably the product of Jewish minds.

(499.) **The Book of the Wisdom of Solomon.** One of the finest products of this age, composed in Egypt by a Jew, who was very familiar with the literature and point of view of Hellenism, was the Book of Wisdom. Its author was a loyal, but enlightened Jew. His work was a study of the problems already considered in Ecclesiastes (§ 471), but it came to a more satisfying conclusion. It consists of five elaborate discourses:

The Book of Wisdom.

1. Wisdom and an indulgence in wickedness do not go together. There must be singleness of heart. 1:1-11.
2. The wisdom of the world ignores immortality and thus belittles character and is satisfied with superficial joy. 1:12 to 6:11.
3. Wisdom is desirable because she brings with her the knowledge of humankind, of the universe and of God's will. 6:12 to 9:18.
4. Wisdom saved the world through the great leaders of Israel she inspired. 10:1 to 11:5.
5. Through Wisdom's aid judgments on the wicked have often been transformed into blessings to God's people. 11:6 to 19:22.

This book was highly esteemed and deserved its reputation. It advances beyond Ecclesiastes by reason of its confident grasp of immortality and because it surveys this life and its happenings in the light of eternity. Our Lord and St. Paul may have found much that was attractive in this noble work of reflection.

(500.) **The Impulse given by the Age to Apocalyptical Composition.** Attention has been called in earlier paragraphs (§§316, 421, 453, 456, 470) to passages in the prophetical writings, such as Zeph., Isa. 24-27, Joel, Zech. 12-14, which betrayed the growth of the apocalyptical temper. Apocalypse may be defined as a looking forward to the achievement of God's purposes by His sudden, supernatural intervention. It must be distinguished from genuine prophecy, which conceives the future as a time when nations and individuals will be inwardly transformed into loyal children of God. Prophecy hopes to convert the wicked; apocalypse would destroy them and thus give room for righteousness. The bitter experiences of faithful Jews during the Greek and Maccabean periods tended to center their attention upon the probability of a divine overturning of the existing world. How and when this would take place they did not know, but it seemed to them the clear pathway for Almighty power. Naturally such devout souls took delight in the book of Daniel, and kept anticipating the establishment of the " heavenly kingdom which shall never be destroyed but shall stand forever." (Dan. 2:44.)

Two noteworthy books were issued probably before the close of Alexandra's reign, the book of Enoch and the book

of Jubilees. The book of Enoch contains material as old as the Maccabean struggle and as late as the first half of the first century B.C. It is a sort of Judaistic "Dante" explaining the mysteries of the angelic world and God's purposes for the future, all put into the mouth of Enoch, because of his supposed transference to the heavenly sphere while alive (Gen. 5:24). It throws more light upon Jewish ideas concerning the resurrection, the judgment, the Messiah, angelology, demonology, the vindication of the righteous and the Messianic age than any other one book. All these ideas are clothed in strange and often wierd symbolism, a feature characteristic of apocalypse, not infrequently, perhaps, because this sort of literature was meant to be illuminating and comforting to those who could interpret it and to be quite meaningless to outsiders. The early Christians thought highly of this book. The Fathers often quoted from it.

The book of Jubilees was a sort of commentary on Genesis intended to arouse the Jews to a deeper devotedness to the Law, and to Levitical ordinances, which it traced back in all their strictness to earliest times. Its expositions reveal the hopes of a loyal Jew as he looked forward, and the basis of his conviction that the day of the Messiah would not be long delayed. Its date may possibly be placed fifty years before Alexandra's reign.

The three books, Daniel, Enoch and Jubilees, were among the choicest examples of a numerous apocalyptic literature which explains much that is mysterious in the thinking of the Jewish people as expressed in the New Testament.

(501.) **The Civil Strife between Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II, resulting in an Appeal to Pompey, who made Judea the Tributary of Rome in 63 B.C.** (**69-63 B.C.**) Hyrcanus, the elder son of Alexandra, was inefficient and spiritless. He had been made high priest during Alexandra's reign. Aristobulus, his brother, was ambitious and energetic. The latter had sided with the Sadduceans and helped them to gain permission to occupy the fortresses of the kingdom (§ 497). At his mother's death

Aristobulus was ready to seize the throne, but was willing to permit his brother to continue as high priest. Hyrcanus might have acceded to this arrangement had not Antipater, the governor of Idumea and the evil genius of the Hasmonean family, persuaded him to flee to Petra and secure the help of the Arab prince, Aretas, in winning the throne of Judea. Aristobulus was defeated and sought refuge on the fortified Temple mountain. About this time the Roman general, Pompey, successfully conquered Pontus and Armenia and planned to establish the authority of Rome as far as the Euphrates. His lieutenant, Scaurus, was in Syria. Hearing of the siege of Aristobulus, Scaurus hastened to Palestine. Appealed to by both brothers, he ordered Aretas to withdraw. For a brief period Aristobulus was the master of the situation. But in the spring of 63 B.C. three deputations met Pompey at Damascus, one representing Hyrcanus, one Aristobulus, and a third the Pharisaic party, which declared their wish that Rome should assume political control of Palestine and leave its people free to worship God in their own way. Pompey's decision was in favor of annexation. The followers of Aristobulus held out so bitterly that Pompey carried Aristobulus and his family away to grace his Roman triumph. Thus the Hasmonean monarchy came to an end.

(502.) **The Permanent Results of the Maccabean Age.** We have already noted the increase of the Jewish population of Judea and the extension of the kingdom until it covered the greater part of Palestine, the broadening of Jewish culture and the development of racial loyalty to the oral as well as to the written Law. To these results of the past century might be added a new sense of racial unity. Henceforth all loyal Jews regarded Jerusalem as the one center of their religious world. There was also a fresh sense of the larger unity of mankind, a scholastic idea, however, rather than a popular one. With all these changes, there had come an increasing emphasis upon the royal hopes of the race. The century of independence abounded in contrasts all the way from valiant achieve-

ment to basest treachery, from supreme devotedness to the Law to entire indifference to all religion, from wonderful advances to astonishing failures but it threshed Judaism into its final form.

XXI

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ROMAN OVERLORDSHIP IN JUDEA AND PALESTINE. 63 TO 37 B.C. (JOSEPHUS, SECOND MACCABEES, THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON.)

(503.) The quarrels of Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II not only invited the interference of the Romans, who were quick to notice the internal weakness of the little kingdoms within their sphere of influence, but introduced as a prominent factor in Jewish affairs a new and fateful influence in the person of Antipater, the Idumean. His family held all the real power there was outside of Rome's direct sovereignty until the downfall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.

When Pompey reinstated Hyrcanus as high priest and administrator with the title of ethnarch, the Pharisees were satisfied, but not the people, who fretted under the Roman yoke. Their religious teachers declared that the Messiah would right all Jewish wrongs in good time if they were religiously faithful, but they had their ears open to every summons to fight for freedom. Pompey reorganized Palestine, restored their local liberty to many Greek cities, reduced Judea to its earlier smallness of size and organized the Decapolis league in East Jordan. If he hoped by strengthening the independent Greek communities and by encouraging the rebuilding of the ruined cities to balance the power of the Jews by that of more loyal Greek districts, he did not appreciate the Jewish people. Reckless of results, they followed their impulses. Whenever a claimant to the Jewish throne appeared, an army rallied to his support. For twenty-three years Hyrcanus was the nominal ruler; but these were years of turmoil which only made more inevitable the rule of Rome. The Senate finally made Herod the king of Judea, because it recognized him as a man of commanding

ability who could bring order into the distracted land.

(504.) **The First Twelve Years after Pompey's Conquest. (63-52 B.C.)** For several years peace reigned in Palestine, but in 57 B.C. Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, escaped from Rome, appeared in Judea, and appealed to his countrymen. His army was defeated by Gabinius, the proconsul of Syria, who proceeded to divide Judea into districts, and to rebuild the old Greek cities, in order to make Judea less unified and dangerous. Almost immediately Aristobulus himself escaped from Rome with his son Antigonus, and raised again the standard of revolt. This uprising was quelled and Aristobulus sent back to Rome, but his sons were permitted to live in Judea. The absence of Gabinius in Egypt encouraged Alexander to attempt a third uprising, which was defeated more disastrously than ever. These revolts had merely confirmed Rome in the opinion that the Jews were a turbulent, rebellious people, had intensified the Jewish hatred of their conquerors and had forwarded the interests of Antipater, who in a way almost uncanny seemed always to reap advantage from the misfortunes of the others. He served alike the interests of the Romans and of the Jews. He could not prevent Crassus, as consul in Syria, from plundering the Temple, nor his people from revolting once more because of the deed, but he was not held responsible for the outrage nor for its outcome. In 52 B.C. this fourth revolt was quelled with such severity that the people remained quiet for some years.

(505.) **The Psalms of Solomon.** These eighteen psalms express the ideas and hopes of loyal Pharisees in the days which followed Pompey's conquest. They dwell upon God's righteousness, His treatment of sinners, His sure mercy toward Israel. They long for the Messiah, conceiving Him as a human ruler with noble ideals of government and religion. They express a confident belief in the resurrection and immortality of the righteous, while they realize that the nation is suffering under the just judgments of a loving God.

(506.) **The Appointment of Herod by Julius Caesar as**

Governor of Galilee. About 45 B.C. The struggle for supremacy between Caesar and Pompey, which was decided in Caesar's favor at Pharsalia, August, 48 B.C., was the occasion of the death of two of the claimants to Judea's throne, Aristobulus and his son, Alexander. It left Antigonus, the other son, as the only rival of his uncle, Hyrcanus, the puppet of Antipater. Antipater had naturally sided with Pompey, who ruled the East; but he managed to perform such valuable services to Caesar in the months following Pharsalia that the conqueror rewarded him and his people generously. The districts of Gabinius were abolished, Antipater was made a Roman citizen, Hyrcanus was again made ethnarch and high priest with Antipater as his prime minister, the Sanhedrin was given authority over local Jewish interests, the Judeans were granted religious freedom and exempted from supporting Roman legions and from serving in them. Antipater showed wonderful judgment in the requests which he made. He did not fail to think of his own family and secured from Caesar the appointment of his son Phasael as governor of Jerusalem and of his son Herod as governor of Galilee. Herod was young and ambitious. He signalized his accession to office by clearing Galilee of the robbers who infested it. With their customary folly, the Sanhedrists summoned him to answer to them for exercising the death penalty without permission. Such treatment angered him, and only his father's counsels prevented him from attacking Jerusalem and putting the Sanhedrists to death. With two such sons Antipater might well feel secure concerning his hold upon Judea. His hopes, whatever they were, were blasted by Caesar's assassination in 44 B.C. With his wonderful talent for diplomacy, however, he and his sons managed to keep the favor, first of Cassius, then of Antony. Antipater met his death by poisoning, but Phasael and Herod were given full control of Judean affairs in 42 B.C.

(507.) **The Parthian Invasion of Palestine the Occasion of Herod's Appointment as King of Judea.** While Rome was in disturbance the Parthians, the long-time

foes of Rome, seized Syria. Encouraged by them, Antigonus returned to Palestine in 41 B.C., and with their aid and that of the Jews who hated Herod, he actually established himself in Jerusalem. Hyrcanus and Phasael fell victims to his treachery; Herod had to flee, first to the fortress of Masada, then to Egypt and Rome. He urged Anthony and Octavian to appoint Aristobulus III, the grandson of Hyrcanus, as king of Judea and to give him the post of prime minister to Aristobulus. They were rightly suspicious of Hasmoneans, and, recognizing Herod's ability and friendship, offered him the kingship, an appointment speedily confirmed by the senate in the autumn of 40 B.C. Herod went right to work to make the title a real one. It took three years of persistent fighting, but finally, in the fall of 37 B.C., Jerusalem was taken and Antigonus was ignominiously beheaded. Herod strengthened his hold upon the throne by marrying Mariamne, the beautiful granddaughter of Hyrcanus II, to whom he had been betrothed for five of six years.

XXII

HEROD THE GREAT, THE KING OF THE JEWS. 37 TO 4 B.C. (JOSEPHUS.)

(508.) With the establishment of Herod on the throne of Judea a remarkable career began. Herod was an unusual man. He was successful as a soldier and diplomat, keen as a leader and judge of men, and masterful, shrewd and efficient as an administrator. He was also ruthless in method, relentless in pursuit of those whom he regarded as his enemies, impatient of opposition or control and a slave to his passions. He was never commonplace, but his greatness was that of the egotistical tyrant, never that of the disinterested or even broadminded statesman. He played with skill and assurance a most difficult part in keeping the balance between a fanatical people and their aggressive masters, between Judaism as expounded by the very learned and wholly unyielding scribes of his day and the Hellenism in which he really

rejoiced. He was not wholly successful. His subjects were neither blind nor stupid. They admired his genius and feared his prowess, but they hated him throughout his reign, notwithstanding his great services to Judea and to the greater Jewish world. Had he used his unusual powers for ends which were truly great and worthy, the course of Palestinian history might have greatly altered. Yet the Jewish people were already heading towards their doom. They were in these decades, as so often before, their own worst foes.

(509.) **The Meaning to Western Asia of the Dominion of Rome.** The overlordship of Rome had much significance for the Asiatic world and for the Judea of Herod's day. It meant, of course, the transfer of the seat of authority and power to Rome, the shifting, likewise, of the center of commercial life from Alexandria to the imperial city. But it meant at the same time the vast increase of traffic and business and national interchange because of the security which Rome established on land and sea alike. A trip to Palestine from Italy became no more of a venture than a voyage from California to China or Japan becomes today. Most of all the rule of Rome gave a unity to the world never known before through its wonderful scheme of imperial highways, its genius for discipline and organization, and its great system of law.

(510.) **Herod's Slow Establishment of His Dynasty (37-25 B.C.)** Herod's genius fitted into Roman plans. He had the imperial vision and a fundamental sense of order. For some years his throne was wholly dependent on the caprice of Antony and was endangered by the intrigues of Cleopatra of Egypt, and of Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus, who hated Herod with ample reason. Salome, Herod's sister, hated Mariamne, his beautiful, imperious wife, and sought to stir him to jealousy, so that he would put her to death. He managed to evade his political dangers, but became more and more a victim of jealous rage. Throwing in his fortunes with Octavian, Herod was confirmed in his kingdom, which was enlarged by

KINGDOM of HEROD THE GREAT, 30-4 B. C.

PALESTINE under SONS of HEROD, 4 B. C.-6 A. D.

PALESTINE in the time of CHRIST

PALESTINE under HEROD AGRIPPA, 44 A. D.

districts in the East Jordan country, Samaria and Philistia. But led by trickery to believe in Mariamne's unfaithfulness he put her to death and, soon after, the tricky Alexandra and all the remaining kindred of the Hasmonean house. There were then no possible rivals to Herod's own family.

(511.) **The Brilliant Period of His Reign (25-13 B.C.)** By 25 B.C. Octavian had begun to be termed Augustus and to organize his dominions in imperial fashion. Herod was of much use to him in the maintenance of peace on his eastern border, so Herod's territory was gradually enlarged until it included virtually the whole of Palestine.* He was also in sympathy with the imperial desire to promote the unity of the world through the spread of Hellenic culture. During the next decade and more Herod set himself to the task of using his resources in the promotion of this policy. He safeguarded his authority by the construction of fortresses. He tried to develop a love of the ways of Hellenism by instituting games every quadrennium, by erecting gymnasia, statues and temples both in Palestine and in outside cities, and by focalizing at Jerusalem many social and literary interests. He gave Rome a secure harbor and safe administrative center by building the port and city of Caesarea. Other beautiful cities he built or rebuilt, Sebaste, Antipatris, Agrippeion and Phasaelis. He did not neglect the prosperity of his own land. Jerusalem increased greatly in security, population, commerce and size. He repaired the walls, erected four strong and lofty towers provided with battlements and turrets, increased the palace area and constructed a new palace on the southwest hill. This became the Praetorium of the Roman procurators. He had, also, somewhat earlier, rebuilt and enlarged the citadel at vast expense, naming it Antonia.

(512.) **The Rebuilding of the Temple.** Herod's new and beautiful structures in the most conspciuous part of Jerusalem made Zerubbabel's Temple look rather small and shabby. He thought to add to his glory and popu-

*For his kingdom, see the map facing page 312.

larity by rebuilding the Temple. With great difficulty he gained the consent of his people by promising that the old structure should not be pulled down until he was ready to build the new one, and by arranging that no heathen hands should touch the Sanctuary. He put a thousand priests into training as masons and carpenters. About the beginning of 19 B.C., the enterprise was begun. The Sanctuary was finished in eighteen months, but the completion of the larger group of buildings was seven years later. The Temple was not completed in every detail, according to Josephus, until about 63 A.D., six or seven years before its destruction.

Herod's Temple differed from Zerubbabel's in several respects. He doubled the area about it at vast expense, made the Porch into a tall facade one hundred and seventy feet high, and so adjusted the surrounding space that around the Sanctuary was a court for priests only, outside of that the court of Israel and the court for women, and outside both of these the court of the Gentiles, where any one could go. (§418).

The worship at this Temple was very elaborate. According to Josephus twenty thousand priests ministered at the Temple in twenty-four squads, each serving a week at a time. Two public services were held each day, at sunrise and at sunset. On great days a very elaborate ritual was followed, which must have deeply impressed every reverent soul. It helped to give their religion a stronger hold than ever on the hearts of loyal Jews.

(513.) **The Messianic Expectation.** We have noted in our study of prophecy and apocalypse, three ways in which Israel's hopes for the future found expression. In the earlier, nationalistic days (§304) Jehovah's plans for the world were to be carried out through a Davidic king or ruler who was to direct the affairs of the repentant nation with wisdom under Divine blessing and protection. Parallel with that idea another developed, which looked for a leadership which would fit the nation through self-renunciation to evangelize the world and bring it in repentance to Jehovah's feet (§401.) A third conception

was that Jehovah would intervene in majesty to destroy the wicked and thus open the way for Israel to do her work (§ 500.) The common elements in all these conceptions were the unquestioned power and purpose of Almighty God, the universality of His worship and Israel's part in bringing it about.

The Jews of Herod's day had no clear program of the future in mind. They were much under the influence of the apocalyptical writings which declared that God would intervene some day supernaturally, and make the Jewish nation supreme over its enemies. They pictured the Messiah as coming from God to deliver and preserve Israel, to rule and judge the world. Apparently the recognized leaders of the national thinking ignored the spiritual interpretation of prophetic hopes found in Isaiah 53 and expected a literal fulfilment of the nationalistic declarations of the earlier prophets. They made the fatal error, so common even today among students of prophecy, of emphasizing the letter of prophecy and overlooking its essential meaning. Properly and historically interpreted, the true religious thinking of Israel, as outlined and guided by the prophets, reveals a steady, almost even progress from Amos 3: 1, 2 to Isaiah 52: 12 to 53: 12. In Herod's day, however, as in the twentieth century, interpreters abounded who ignored all progress.

(514.) **The Last Years of Herod (13-4 B.C.)** The task which Herod set himself of making the Jews an integral part of the Graeco-Roman world was hopeless. The spirit of Judaism was unconquerable and immovable. The task was all the more impossible, however, because the king became so degenerate. The last years of his life were one continuous tangle of suspicions, intrigue and murder. Even when death was staring in his face, instead of seeking to make his memory honored by some last act of friendliness, he planned the worst crime of all. He sent for Salome, and directed her to summon all the principal men of the nation, to shut them up in the hippodrome and, at the announcement of his death, to massacre

them, so that there should surely be mourning at his funeral. They were thus assembled, but Salome did not give the order for their murder. Herod went to an unlamented grave.

XXIII

THE HALF-CENTURY OF RULE BY THE HERODIAN FAMILY. 4 B.C. TO 44 A.D. (JOSEPHUS.)

(515.) It was ample testimony to the virtues of Herod as a political ruler that the two of his sons who ruled with some regard for the interests of their subjects maintained their hold for long reigns upon their dominions. No family could have held its place with any surer grasp, but the nation was too disunited to continue. Herod in his will gave Archelaus his royal title with Judea, Samaria and Idumea as his dominion. Herod Antipas was, as tetrarch, to govern Galilee and Perea. Herod Philip, as tetrarch, was to rule over the northeastern territory. It was needful that this disposition be ratified by Augustus, who, after some demur, endorsed the will but gave Archelaus the title of ethnarch and took away some of his territory.*

(516.) **The Weak and Disappointing Reign of Archelaus. (4 B.C. to 6 A.D.)** From the outset of the reign of Archelaus there was friction. He was barbarous, arbitrary and tyrannical, utterly unfitted to deal with the delicate problems of management in his realm. At last his people made out such a case against him to Augustus, that Archelaus was banished to Gaul and his dominion was annexed to the province of Syria.

(517.) **Judea Ruled by Procurators. (6-40 A.D.)** During the youth and active ministry of Jesus, Judea was ruled by procurators. The procurator resided at Caesarea, had a small force of auxiliary troops, was paid from the imperial treasury, exercised supreme judicial authority and handled the finances. He was supposed to respect the prerogatives of the Sanhedrin, which was the highest court of Judaism, and to be in some sense subordinate to

*For the final adjustment, see the map facing page 312.

the Syrian legate. He meddled very little with internal affairs so long as the peace was kept and the taxes regularly paid, but paying taxes was abhorrent to a loyal Judean. Many waited impatiently for a Messianic manifestation, expecting it almost daily. They developed a party called the Zealots. The only procurator mentioned in the Gospels was the fifth, Pontius Pilate.

(518.) **The Partly Successful Reign of Antipas (4 B.C. to 39 A.D.)** Herod Antipas had a long reign of forty-three years. He was astute and crafty, ambitious and pleasure-loving. He was much like his father. He built the city of Tiberias as a capital and made it a wonder of the age. His passionate nature led him to covet and marry Herodias, his own half-sister and the wife of another man, a piece of wickedness for which John the Baptist openly reproved him, thereby losing his life. Jesus despised Herod (Luke 13: 32) and would not notice him (23: 9). During the last years of his life Herod was constantly in trouble and was finally deprived of his kingdom, which was given to his rival, Agrippa I.

(519.) **The Happy Reign of Philip (4 B.C. to 33 A.D.)** Herod Philip had the poorest territory of all, but his reign was a happy one for him and for his people. He ruled with justice and had no disturbances. He built Caesarea Philippi as his capital and enlarged Bethsaida.*

(520.) **The Brief but Brilliant Reign of Herod Agrippa I. (41-44 A.D.)** The last King of Palestine was Agrippa I, of whom we hear in Acts. His brief reign of three years was a golden day for Pharisaism. He respected the prejudices of the stricter Jews, although, in true Herodian fashion, he also patronized Greek games. He persecuted the Christians, putting James to death and imprisoning Peter (Acts 12: 1-3). His sudden and horrible death (12: 19-23) ended all real hope of a Jewish kingdom.†

*For the relative territories of the procurators, Antipas and Philip, see the map facing page 312.

†For the dominions of Agrippa, see the map facing page 312.

XXIV

THE LAST TRAGIC QUARTER CENTURY OF A GLORIOUS NATIONAL LIFE. 44 TO 70 A.D. (JOSEPHUS.)

(521.) The Jewish people dominated and directed by Pharisaic bigotry and shortsightedness and stirred by Messianic expectations were in no condition to endure the outrages to which they were subjected by the seven procurators who quickly succeeded one another in the administration of Palestine after the death of Agrippa, his young son being regarded as too inexperienced for such responsibilities. They were fairly goaded into rebellion by the stupid brutality of these men of power, whose only ambition was to line their pockets.

Agrippa II, when twenty-one years of age, in 48 A.D. was given by Claudius the small kingdom of Chalcis, and, five years later, the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias with the title of King. To these dominions Nero added. He was "expert" in matters Jewish (Acts 25:13 to 26:32), but corrupt. He sided with the Romans, was rewarded by them and spent his last years in the imperial city.

(522.) **The Seven Imperial Procurators. (44-66 A.D.)** The authority and responsibility of a procurator was just enough undefined to permit an unscrupulous one to wrong his subjects in a thousand ways, petty and serious. The seven were in succession: (1) Cuspius Fadus (44-45), a short-sighted blunderer; (2) Tiberius Alexander (45-48), an apostate, whom the people hated for that reason; (3) Cumanus (48-52), a very corrupt and cruel man; (4) Felix (52-60), a cruel and severe ruler; (5) Porcius Festus (60-62), a weak man; (6) Albinus (62-64), a plunderer; and (7) Gessius Florus (64-66), cruel, infamous and grasping. These rulers took no pains to study their Jewish charges. Their stupid blunders or wilful crimes fanned prejudice and fanaticism into flame.

(523.) **The Refusal of the Jews to Honor the Emperor and their Defeat of Gallus, the Legate of Syria. (66 A.D.)** At last, exasperated beyond self control by the insolence and greed of these Roman procurators, of whom Florus

was the very worst, the people of Judea declared war in 66 A.D. by formally refusing to offer the daily sacrifice at the Temple for the emperor, a practise which they had faithfully observed for not less than half a century. It was a direct and public refusal of respect and defiance of authority.

During the first year, when the Jews had to deal only with the small Roman garrisons in Judea and with the army of Gallus, the legate of Syria, they gained several victories. They were not a unit, however. The extreme revolutionists fought the temporizers as readily as they attacked the Roman soldiers. But the menace of the vengeance of Rome ultimately drew them together.

(524.) **The Gradual Mastery of Palestine by Vespasian and Titus (67-70 A.D.)** Realizing the seriousness of the rebellion the emperor, Nero, ordered Vespasian, one of his most experienced and reliable generals, to go to Palestine and direct the campaign. He planned with wisdom to subdue the country and make the capture of Jerusalem the closing event of his conquest. A year of fierce fighting gave him the undisputed mastery of Galilee. The next few months added the regions east of Jordan and south and west of Jerusalem. The death of the emperor Nero and the confusion in Italy delayed direct operations for nearly a year, until Vespasian himself had been chosen emperor (July 69) and placed on the throne of the Caesars. He appointed his son, Titus, to be the general of the forces in Judea. After a further delay, during which the Christians and such as took their friendly warnings escaped to Pella across the Jordan, and factionalism ran riot in Jerusalem, Titus advanced to attack the city. For over a year Jerusalem had been a scene of insane civil war to an extent almost unbelievable. The reverses of the Jewish forces in Galilee, commanded and controlled by the aristocratic Sadducean leaders, caused the Zealots, led by John of Gishcala, to assume control. The Sadduceans appealed to the citizens, whereupon the Zealots appealed to the Idumeans, with a consequent flowing of the best blood of Jerusalem for weeks. Finally the Sad-

duceans invited a certain Simon, a successful adventurer, to enter Jerusalem to protect them from John. The remedy was as bad as the disease. Three small hostile factions soon developed, one holding the inner court of the Temple which was well defended, another holding the Temple mountain and the third, under Simon's leadership, holding the city. The insane fury of their contention amounted to national suicide. Only after the siege began did these factions unite against their common foe.

Finally, in April 70 A.D., the Roman army began a siege which continued for five months. It was bitterly contested, foot by foot. When it was over, beautiful Jerusalem and the stately Temple were in ruins. With indomitable spirit the people fought on to the melancholy end. Masada, the last fortress to be starved into surrender in April A.D. 73, yielded no prisoners.

(525.) **The Writings of this Quarter Century.** It is interesting to recall the fact that within this quarter century the writings of the New Testament began to appear. Paul's fifteen years of active, missionary service with the stirring letters through which he comforted, encouraged, educated and inspired his churches had come to an end before 65 A.D. The Gospel according to Mark had probably appeared before 70 A.D., the first interpretation in the form familiar to us of the life of Jesus. Of apocalyptic literature two books may have been in circulation which are usually ascribed to the first century A.D., the Secrets of Enoch and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. The former contains a curiously elaborate explanation of the various heavens (Deut. 10: 14; II Cor. 12: 2), and discusses the millenium and existence after death. It illustrates the thinking of the average Jew of this century. The latter is a review of the dying commands of the sons of Jacob to their children, each reviewing his life and setting forth in view of its events certain moral principles. It has many details in common with the book of Jubilees (§500). Each book was the product of the nobler Judaism, and reveals the substratum of intelligent, loyal, truly religious people with which any

student of this period must reckon. Quite possibly the Assumption of Moses, a review of world history from the time of Moses to the days of Pompey, ending with a picture of the end of the age and the blessed future, belongs to this period or earlier. Many such works must have been written to nerve or comfort the people.

XXV

THE EPILOGUE TO THE HISTORY OF THE HEBREWS: OBEDIENCE TO THE RABBINICAL LAW. (70 TO 135 A.D.)

(526.) Judaism, though overmastered and deprived of any control of Palestine, was neither destroyed nor wholly deprived of hope. The synagogue and the rabbi were greater unifying forces than Temple or city. The Jewish people were a religious unit all over the Roman empire. With the destruction of the holy city and the sanctuary went the Sanhedrin, the Sadduceans as a party, the priesthood as leaders, and all national recognition of any sort. The one unifying influence was the Law and the one dominant purpose of all faithful Jews was the achievement of such exact obedience to it that God could once more bless His people and give the Messiah. Rabbinism was blind to the splendid historic fulfillment of Israel's expectations which Judea had already witnessed but ignored.

(527.) **The Rabbinical Headquarters at Jamnia.** Meagreness of information prevents the historian from picturing accurately the conditions in Palestine for the half century or more after 70 A.D. Christianity had its active centres elsewhere. The vast majority of the Jews were to be found in the great commercial cities of the empire, in Asia Minor, Greece, Italy and Egypt. Palestine was governed by a praetor. The Jews who chose to settle there were permitted to do so and allowed to follow their religious customs, but they were treated as direct subjects of Rome. Jamnia on the western side of the Philistian plain near Ashdod became a rabbinical center. A sort of high court or Sanhedrin was organized there, whose decisions became authoritative for Judaism everywhere.

(528.) **The Authoritative Completion of the Old Testament.** It was at Jamnia at a formal council about 90 A.D. that the Old Testament as we have it today was formally pronounced complete by these recognized leaders of Judaism. Up to their time there had been questionings whether several books such as Esther, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs belonged in the sacred Canon. The decision of the Council was in favor of these books.

(529.) **The Apocalypses of Ezra (Second Esdras) and Baruch.** These two books were written within this period. The first mentioned is to be found among the Apocrypha under the title of Second Esdras, but it is really an apocalyptical work. Of the sixteen chapters, the first and last pairs remind the reader occasionally of the Gospels (compare 1:30-33 with Matt. 23:37, 38; 2:13 with Matt. 25:34; 15:8 with Rev. 6:10 and 16:54 with Luke 16:15). These chapters rebuke Israel for her rebelliousness and summon the Gentiles to enter into her inheritance. Chapters 3-14 are distinctly Jewish. They argue that God, though inscrutable, is surely working for the triumph of righteousness. Iniquity has its appointed limit. In due time the Anointed One shall reign, and Israel be gathered to Zion. Meanwhile, Ezra (14:13) was to write out for the people, not only the recognized Scriptures, but seventy extra canonical books as well. The elaborate vision of the eagle (11, 12) alludes to the successive emperors of Rome, concluding with Domitian.

The Apocalypse of Baruch was much like that of Ezra. It purports to be written by Baruch, the scribe of Jeremiah (§318), foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem and its subsequent restoration. It concludes with a letter from Baruch to the tribes in captivity. By analogy its hopeful views of the future helped to console and hearten the despondent Jews.

(530.) **The Rebellions of the Jewish Dispersion (115-118 A.D.)** During the imperial reigns of Titus (79-81 A.D.), Domitian (81-96 A.D.), Nerva (96-98 A.D.), and most of Trajan's long reign (98-117 A.D.) the Jews were treated with considerable rigor, and yet they flourished

everywhere. With the attainment of vitality their national spirit broke out afresh. In the last years of Trajan their resolute maintenance of community individuality brought upon them such exactions that revolts broke out in Cyrene, Egypt, Cyprus and Mesopotamia. In Palestine the outbreak was retarded by the influence of the aged Joshua, the Taonite. This great uprising was finally quelled.

(531.) **The Rebellion in Palestine under Rabbi Akiba and Bar-Cochba (132-135 A.D.)** When the emperor Hadrian came to the throne, he at first listened to a plea of the Jewish people in Judea for permission to rebuild their Temple. Later on, becoming convinced of their disloyal spirit, he revoked this permission. This provoked a rebellion endorsed by a famous rabbi and led by the successor of Joshua, one Simon bar-Cochba (" Son of a star "), who declared himself to be the anticipated Messiah. From all over the oriental world Jews flocked to his standard. Simon actually captured Jerusalem, proclaimed himself king, and struck coins to commemorate the event (132 A.D.). The war was bloody and the emperor relentless. Hadrian was so exasperated that he determined to erase the very name of Jerusalem from the map. On the site of the city he founded a Roman colony and erected a temple of Jupiter. Thus was absolutely concluded the history of the Hebrew people as an organized nation. For eighteen centuries Judaism has been no more than a racial and religious fellowship.

(532.) **The Transfer of Judaism's Spiritual Task.** During these sixty-five years of impotency on Judaism's part and of her devotedness to ideals which had become barren and selfish, the greater mission of Judaism, the task of enlightenment and world redemption, was taken up by Christianity, which, as set forth in the writings of Paul, in Hebrews, in the Gospel of Matthew and in Revelation, regarded itself as the legitimate heir of Jewish hopes and policies. To his followers Jesus had taken the place of Temple, altar, ritual and priesthood; he had adequately fulfilled the real prophetic promises and expectations and

was the true Messiah; he advocated and exemplified the true method of redemption through self sacrifice and warfare against sin. The early Christians were slow to realize all this. It was the influx of extra-Jewish members into the Christian Church which led to a gradual clearing of views and to the writing of such catholic interpretations of the spirit of Christianity as the Gospels of Luke and John. In the unique personality of Jesus was the secret of the unity, the power and the permanence of the new expression of faith. It was universal and eternal because it accepted and interpreted loyally all that was central and permanent in the religion of Israel. Judaism was convicted of narrowness and destined to be laid aside; but the revelation of God's nature and will which Israel transmitted and the great truths of religion which her noble men had worked out were carried on into the fresher, more gracious and sufficient relationship expressed in Jesus.

(533.) **The Significance of Hebrew and Jewish History to the World.** Notwithstanding this tragic close, the twenty centuries of Hebrew and Jewish history merit much honor. The race made permanent contributions of eternal value to the world of those days and of every age. These were contributions to religion. In other ways the Hebrews have shown capacity, but in religion they were supreme. Their contributions to the world's religious heritage may be summed up under five specifications. (1) *They made religion a great reality.* They gave it its proper place in the life of human beings, not as a convenience, not as a luxury, but as a deep and essential need for the enrichment and perfection of life. (2) *They developed the true and permanent conception of God as a moral personality.* This opened the way to monotheism, and to sonship. Other nations had ideas which are worthy of recognition, but Israel had the only adequate conception of God in His relations with the universe. (3) *They developed an impressive conception of the dignity of human personality.* Israel was the only nation which brought God and man together in a relationship which

recognized human freedom and the possibility of God-likeness for men. (4) *They assigned to mankind a task which satisfies the cultured religious mind of today.* Organized Christianity is carrying out at the present time the ideals of Judaism's keenest and noblest minds. Judaism was not their ideal nor Rabbinism, but such a condition as that exhibited by real Christianity, aglow with its mission of world redemption and blessedness. (5) *They embodied their ideals in literary masterpieces.* From these, godly men and women will take comfort, courage and vision in all ages.

The more thoroughly the Old Testament is studied, the greater is the respect of the student for it. He finds noble and dignified conceptions expressed in fitting, oft-times in remarkable literary forms. There is nothing finer in universal literature than Job, Isaiah 40-66, Jonah, Ruth and many of the shorter passages in the historical, prophetic and wisdom books as well as many of the psalms. Compared with other sacred literatures, that which was wrought out through the Hebrew people is in a class by itself. Interpreted historically, in full sympathy with the conditions which influenced it, it is increasingly to the faithful student a revelation of the very heart of God and of His gracious purpose to promote the task of proclaiming His goodness and love to the world until all mankind shall bow at His feet.

XXVI

SOME GENERAL QUESTIONS IN REVIEW OF JEWISH HISTORY FROM 400 B.C. TO 135 A.D.

(534.) 1. How did the Samaritan people originate? Why did the Jews refuse to unite with them? Trace the development of the historical antagonism. When did they cease to be dangerous rivals of the Jews?

2. Out of the professionally influential classes in Hebrew community life: the court, the priesthood, the prophets, the sages and the scribes, which retained or gained influence in this age? Which class outlived in influence all the others?

3. How many women attained to recorded prominence among the Hebrews from the days of Sarah, the wife of Abraham to those of Alexandra, the Hasmonean queen? What was the position of women among the Hebrews as compared with their position generally among Oriental peoples?

4. Which portion of the Jewish race rendered during these centuries the more important service to humankind, those in Judea or those abroad? What were the great outside Jewish centres after the Maccabean age?

5. Contrast Judaism with Hellenism. Why were they so antagonistic? Has that antagonism ever been overcome and how?

6. What was the historical justification of Judaism with all its exclusiveness and narrowness? What proof can be given of its sound, spiritual heart?

7. What permanent benefits came to the Jewish people out of Persian overlordship? Of the Persian sovereigns after Darius who was on the whole most able and worthy?

8. To what three great powers were the Jewish people successively in subjection during these centuries? Did the Jews gain or lose thereby?

9. A writer has said that the Hasmonean kingdom existed because of the weakness of surrounding states rather than because of its own strength. Is this statement a fair explanation of the facts?

10. Of what advantage to Judaism was the Maccabean uprising and the subsequent independence?

11. What caused prophecy to give way in the popular mind to apocalyptical thought? What two Biblical books mark the beginning and almost the conclusion of this latter literary type? Mention three other important examples of apocalyptical literature.

12. What was the place of the scribe in organized Judaism? What religious institution of the exile did he control?

13. How long in the making was the Psalter? What important functions did it play in the religious life of

Judaism? What accounts for its continuing power to all ages?

14. What prophetic writings fall within the limits of these centuries? Why should such a book as Joel or Isaiah 24-27 or Zechariah 9-14 be classified as prophecy rather than as apocalypse?

15. Aside from the wisdom psalms, what portions of the Old Testament classify as "Wisdom?" Compare Proverbs with the apochryphal Ecclesiasticus and Ecclesiastes with the apochryphal Book of Wisdom. How did the latter in each case improve upon the former?

16. About what proportion of the Old Testament dates after 400 B.C.? By what stages was the Old Testament officially recognized as sacred? When was its content absolutely settled?

17. What great changes in the Old Testament as then known were made by the translators of the Septuagint?

18. Compare Alexander the Great with Cyrus in the ability he exhibited, his statesmanship and his value to the Jewish people.

19. In view of Hellenism's insidious and almost irresistible advances, felt even by Judaism, does it seem to one who resurveys the second century B.C. that the cruel persecutions of Antiochus were wholly injurious to Judaism?

20. Of the three forms of the Messianic expectation — the nationalistic, the catastrophic and the redemptive — which were prevalent in these centuries? Which did Jesus of Nazareth emphasize?

21. What strong and clear missionary notes were struck within the age?

22. It has been said that the growth of the two great parties in Judaism, the Pharisees and Sadducees, forever blocked Jewish advance and really opened the wide road to national ruin. If this is true, why was the usefulness of the Jewish people as a people ended thus?

23. Was the Herodian regime a calamity or an asset?

24. What historical reasons can be given for the refusal

of the Jewish people to accept Jesus of Nazareth as their Messiah and for His condemnation?

25. As a matter of fact, did early Christianity continue and develop all of the finer and truer features of the religion of the Jewish people?

26. Which is entitled to be called the true Israel today, the Israel of the prophets and histories or the Israel of the apocalyptical writers, of the scribes and priests?

27. In their two thousand years of splendid history through how many revolutionary experiences did the Hebrew people pass? What were the distinctive and substantial possessions to which they always clung?

28. What was the great unifying, purifying and organizing force at work in Hebrew life from the beginning to the end?

29. What great religious inheritances came directly to Christianity from Judaism?

30. When the Judaism of Bar-Cochba's day became a religious fellowship, did the Hebrew people cease to be?

APPENDIX

I

AN OUTLINE OF HEBREW HISTORY, ARRANGED TO PROMOTE ITS READY MEMORIZATION OR MASTERY

This outline is intended to promote the ready grasp of Hebrew history, as a whole, and to enable the student to view each period in its larger relations and in its relative importance. The six ages portray the great eras of development. The twenty-five periods represent its distinct stages during twenty centuries or so. The one hundred items bring out the essential steps of advance, sometimes personal, sometimes historical. Whoever will take the trouble to familiarize himself with the whole will gain a well-balanced, sufficiently detailed survey of the complete range of Biblical history and will see for himself its remarkable character.

I. THE CHILDHOOD OF THE RACE

1. *THE BEGINNINGS OF HUMAN HISTORY* (Gen. 1-11).
   (1) The Creation of Man in God's Image and his Development as the Responsible Ruler of the Visible World (Gen. 1-5).
   (2) The Divine Share in the Rescue, the Organization and the Spread of Mankind (Gen. 6-11).
2. *THE ANCESTORS OF THE HEBREW PEOPLE* (Gen. 12-50).
   (3) The Two Great Originators of the Hebrews: Abraham, the Pioneering Man of Faith, and Jacob, the Man of Moral Growth (Gen. 12-35).
   (4) Joseph, the Upright Administrator, who Gave his People a Secure Shelter in Egypt (Gen. 37-50.)
3. *THE TRIUMPHANT DELIVERANCE OF THE HEBREWS FROM EGYPT THROUGH MOSES. ABOUT 1200 B.C.* (Exod. 1-15).
   (5) The Preparation of Moses in Egypt and Midian for his Work of Leadership (Exod. 1-4).
   (6) The Departure of the Hebrews from Egypt (Exod. 5-13).
   (7) The Great Deliverance at the Red Sea (Exod. 13:7 to 15:21).
4. *THE LIFE IN THE WILDERNESS* (Exodus to Deuteronomy).
   (8) The March through the Desert to Sinai-Horeb (Exod. 15:22 to 17:16; 19:1, 2).

(9) The Year at the Sacred Mountain (Exod. 18; 19: 2-25; 20; 24; 32-34).

(10) The Training of the Wilderness (Num. 10: 11 to 14: 45; 20 to 25).

(11) The Last Days of Moses and the Appointment of his Successor (Num. 27: 12-23; Deut. 31, 32, 34).

II. THE ADOLESCENT OR GROWING AGE OF ISRAEL'S DEVELOPMENT

5. *THE CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT OF CANAAN* (Joshua, Judges, Ruth, First Samuel 1-3).

(12) The Speedy Conquest of Canaan (Josh. 1-12; Jud. 1).

(13) The Migration of the Danites Northward (Jud. 17, 18).

(14) The Victory of the Tribes of Central Cannaan over the Canaanitish Coalition (Jud. 4, 5).

(15) The Exploits of the Hebrew Heroes Ehud, Gideon, Jepthah and Samson (Jud. 3-16).

(16) Glimpses of the Finer Life of those Rude Days (Ruth, I Sam. 1-3).

6. *THE GRADUAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HEBREW KINGDOM* (First and Second Samuel; First Kings 1-11).

The Inauguration of the Kingdom Under Samuel

(17) The Humiliation of the Hebrews by their Philistine Neighbors (I Sam. 4-7).

(18) The Choice of Saul as King through Samuel, the Prophet (I Sam. 9-11).

(19) Saul's Deliverance of his People from the Philistines (I Sam. 13, 14).

The Deterioration of Saul and the Gradual Preparation of David for Leadership

(20) David's Training for Leadership at the Court and as an Outlaw (I Sam. 15-26).

(21) Saul's Death and David's Election as King (I Sam. 27 to II Sam. 5: 5).

The Firm Establishment of the United Kingdom Under David

(22) Jerusalem Captured and made the Capital of the New United Kingdom (II Sam. 5, 6).

(23) The New Kingdom made Supreme in Syria and Palestine (II Sam. 8-12; 21, 23).

(24) David's Great Sin and its Lamentable Train of Bitter Consequences (II Sam. 11-20; I Ki. 1, 2).

Solomon's Splendid and Peaceful but Disintegrating Reign

(25) The Promising Beginnings of Solomon's Reign (I Ki. 2: 12 to 5: 12; 9, 10).

(26) The Building and Dedication of the Temple (I Ki. 5-8).

(27) The Disastrous Outcome of Solomon's Policy (I Ki. 4: 24-26; 5: 13-16; 9-11).

III. THE AGE OF RIPENING MATURITY: ISRAEL'S POLITICAL, SOCIAL, ETHICAL AND SPIRITUAL DEVELOPMENT

7. *THE CENTURY OF CONFLICT AND ALLIANCE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND JUDAH. 937-842 B.C.* (First Kings 12 to Second Kings 10).

(28) The Half Century of Petty Warfare Between the Two Kingdoms. (I Ki. 12: 1 to 16: 34).

(29) The Alliance of Omri's Dynasty with Phoenicia and Judah and the Religious Consequences. (I Ki. 16: 21-34; 18: 17-19; 19: 1, 2; 22).

(30) The Prophetic Reform led by Elijah and Completed by Elisha and Jehu (I Ki. 17 to II Ki. 10).

8. *THE CENTURY OF INVASION BY ARAM AND ASSYRIA AND OF THE STEADY INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH. 842-740 B.C.* (Second Kings 10: 29 to 15: 7).

(31) Fifty Years of Aramean Ascendancy (II Ki. 8: 7-29; 10: 32 to 13: 25).

(32) The Glorious and Prosperous Reigns of Uzziah and Jeroboam II (II Ki. 14: 1 to 15: 7; II Chron. 26).

(33) The Growing Northern Menace (II Ki. 15: 19, 20, 29).

9. *THE HALF CENTURY OF PROPHETIC REINTERPRETATION OF THE RELATIONS OF JEHOVAH WITH HIS PEOPLE. 755-686 B.C.* (Amos, Hosea, Isaiah 1-39, Micah and II Ki. 15: 8 to 20: 21).

(34) The Messages of Amos and Hosea to Northern Israel.

(35) The Assumption of Political Control over Palestine by Assyria, and the Downfall of the Northern Kingdom (II Ki. 15: 8 to 17: 41; Isaiah 7: 1-9).

(36) Isaiah's Early Messages to Judah in the Days of Jotham and Ahaz (II Ki. 15: 32 to 16: 20; Isaiah 1-12, 17).

(37) The Work of Isaiah and Micah in the Decade Preceding Sennacherib's Invasion of Palestine in 701 B.C. (Isaiah 20: 1-6; 28: 33; II Ki. 20: 12-20; 18: 1-8; Micah 1-3).

(38) The Invasion of Palestine by Sennacherib and the Deliverance of Jerusalem (II Ki. 18: 13 to 19: 37; Isaiah 1; 10: 5-34; 17: 12-14; 18: 1-7; 22; 29-33; Micah 4: 1 to 7: 6).

10. *THE HALF CENTURY OF REACTION UNDER MANASSEH: ASSYRIA JUDAH'S UNDISPUTED MISTRESS. 686-641 B.C.* (Second Kings 21).

(39) The Religious Reaction of Manasseh's Reign (II Ki. 21; Micah 6: 9 to 7: 6).

11. *THE REFORM UNDER JOSIAH AND HIS PROPHETIC ASSOCIATES. 639-608 B.C.* (Second Kings 22: 1 to 23: 27; Zephaniah; Jeremiah 1-6; Deuteronomy).

(40) The Early Years of Josiah's Reign: Zephaniah's Announcement of Jehovah's "Day" (II Ki. 22: 1, 2; Zephaniah).

(41) Jeremiah's Summons to Prophetic Duty; His Early Sermons (Jer. 1-6).

(42) The Decision of King Josiah to Repair the Temple and the Discovery of the Book of the Law (II Ki. 22: 3 to 23: 3).

(43) The Great Reformation (II Ki. 23: 4-27).

12. *THE RAPID DECLINE OF JUDAH.* (Second Kings 23: 28 to 25: 30; Nahum; Jeremiah *passim.* Habakkuk; Ezekiel 1-24).

(44) Josiah's Tragic Death and the Accession of Jehoiakim: Nahum's Anticipation of the Fall of Nineveh (II Ki. 23: 28-37; Nahum; Jer. 7-17, 19, 20, 26, 36).

(45) The Chaldean Mastery of Palestine (II Ki. 24: 7; Jer. 46: 1-12; 25 [46-57]; Habakkuk).

(46) Jehoiakim's Last Seven Years: Jeremiah's Consistency (II Ki. 24: 1-6; Jer. 22: 13-23; 12: 7-12; 13: 15-27; 35).

(47) The Accession of Jehoiachin, the Capitulation of Jerusalem and the First Captivity (II Ki. 24: 8-16; Jer. 13: 18, 19; 22: 24-30).

(48) The Early Reign of Zedekiah (II Ki. 24: 17-20a; Jer. 22: 1-9; 23; 24: 27-29).

(49) The Ministry of Ezekiel to the Exiled Judaeans (Ezekiel 1-24).

(50) The Rebellion of Zedekiah and the Capture and Destruction of Jerusalem (II Ki. 24: 20b to 25: 26; Jer. 21, 31-34, 37: 1 to 40: 6).

IV. THE AGE OF MENTAL AND SPIRITUAL PRODUCTIVITY

13. *THE SEVENTY YEARS OF HOMELESSNESS.* 586-516 B.C. (Jer. 40-44; Ezek. 25-48; Lam.; Isa. 13, 14, 40-55; Haggai; Zech.; II Ki. 25: 25-30.)

(51) The Paralyzing Effect of the Great Calamity upon the Hebrew People (II Ki. 25: 25, 26; Jer. 40-44; Ezek. 25-32; Lam.).

(52) Ezekiel's Work of Comfort, Heartening and Construction for the Babylonian Exiles. 586-570 B.C. (Ezek. 33-48).

(53) The Closing Years of Chaldean Rule and the Rise of Cyrus. 562-545 B.C. (II Ki. 25: 27-30.)

(54) Prophetical Foreshadowings of Babylon's Fate and of its Significance for Israel and for the World. Between 550 and 538 B.C. (Isa. 13, 14, 21: 1-10; Jer. 50, 51; Isa. 40-55.)

(55) The Capture of Babylon, the Inauguration of the Persian Empire and the Restoration of the Altar Service at Jerusalem. 539-537 B.C. (Dan. 5; Ezra 1; 3: 2 to 4: 5; 5: 13-15; 6: 3-5.)

(56) The Appeals of the Prophets, Haggai and Zechariah, to their Countrymen to Build the Temple. 520-516 B.C. (Ezra 5: 1, 2; Haggai; Zechariah 1-8.)

(57) The Rapid Completion and Dedication of the Second Temple. 516 B.C. (Ezra 5: 2 to 6: 22.)

14. *THE ESTABLISHMENT OF JUDAISM UNDER SCRIBAL INFLUENCE ON THE BASIS OF THE FULL LEVITICAL LAW.* 516-400 B.C. (Ezra 4: 6-23; 7-10; Nehemiah; Isa. 34, 35, 56-66; Malachi; Obadiah.)

(58) Sixty Years without Historical Record. 516-457 or 444 B.C. (Isa. 34, 35, 56-66; Malachi; Obadiah.)

(59) The Mission of Ezra, the Scribe, to Judah. 458 B.C. (Ezra 7-10; 4: 6-23.)

(60) The Rehabilitation of Jerusalem under Nehemiah's Leadership. 445-430 B.C., or later. (Neh. 1-7; 11: 1, 2; 12: 27-43; 13: 4-31.)

(61) The Adoption of the New Law. 445-400 B.C. (Neh. 8-10; 12: 44 to 13: 3.)

(62) The Establishment of Judaism as a Social and Religious Unity. About 400 B.C.

V. THE AGE OF FIXED CONVICTIONS: THE JEWS A PEOPLE LIVING UNDER A WRITTEN LAW

15. *THE LAST SEVENTY YEARS OF PERSIAN RULE.* 400-332 B.C. (Joel, Job, the Chronicler and some Psalms.)

(63) Joel's Interpretation of the Locust Ravages as a Summons to Repentance (Joel 1-3).

(64) The Samaritan Schism and its Outcome (Neh. 13:28).

(65) The Two Literary Triumphs of the Age: Job and the Chronicler's History.

16. *ALEXANDER THE GREAT'S CONQUEST OF ASIA AND INTRODUCTION OF AGGRESSIVE HELLENISM.* 332-168 B.C. (Jonah; Isa. 24-27.)

(66) The Collapse of the Persian Empire at Alexander's Attack. 333-323 B.C.

(67) The Century-long Struggle between Alexander's Two Principal Successors, the Ptolemies of Egypt and the Seleucids of Syria, over the Possession of Palestine. 301-198 B.C.

(68) The Prominence of the Hebrew Sages and their Noteworthy Productions: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus.

(69) The Beginning of the Translation of the Old Testament into Greek. 250 B.C.

(70) The Dream of a Pan-Hellenic Empire, the Rival of Rome, which was Blocked by Jewish Loyalty to Judaism.

(71) The Relentless and Ruthless Policy of Hellenization Pursued in Judea by Antiochus Epiphanes. 169-167 B.C.

17. *THE SUCCESSFUL UPRISING OF THE JEWS UNDER MACCABEAN LEADERSHIP.* 167-143 B.C. (I, II Maccabees; Daniel; Esther; the Psalter.)

(72) The Raising of the Standard of Revolt against Antiochus by Mattathias, the Aged Priest of Modein, and his Five Sons. 167 B.C.

(73) The Visions of the Book of Daniel a Powerful Stimulus to the Brave and Loyal Heroes (Dan. 2, 6-11), and an Impulse to Apocalyptical Composition.

(74) The Gradual Establishment of National Freedom through the Leadership of Judas and Jonathan. 168-143 B.C.

18. *THE PERIOD OF JEWISH INDEPENDENCE.* 143-63 B.C. (I Mac. 13-16; Similitudes of Enoch, Wisdom of Solomon.)

(75) The Happy and Prosperous Reigns of Simon and John Hyrcanus. 143-105 B.C.

(76) The Development of the Three Great Jewish Parties: Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes.

(77) The Growing Hold of the Scribes and the Scriptures upon the Jewish Mind, and Virtual Completion of the Sacred Canon.

(78) The Growth of Religious Partisanship in the Reigns of Jannaeus and Alexandra. 104-69 B.C.

(79) The Emphasis upon Apocalypse in this Age and in the Ages Following.

(80) The Civil Strife between Hyrcanus II, stirred by Antipater the Idumean, and Aristobulus II, the two Hasmonean Claimants of the Throne. 69-63 B.C.

(81) Their Appeal to Pompey, the Roman General, and his Annexation of their Kingdom. 63 B.C.

19. *THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ROMAN OVERLORDSHIP IN JUDEA AND PALESTINE.* 63-37 B.C. (Josephus; II Maccabees; Psalms of Solomon.)

(82) The Prompt and Ruthless Quelling of Several Successive Revolts of the Jews against Roman Rule. 63-52 B.C.

(83) The Rapidly Growing Influence of Antipater and his Family.

(84) Herod's Appointment and Fine Record as Governor of Galilee. 45-40 B.C.

(85) His Unanticipated Appointment by Julius Caesar as King of Judea and Slow Winning of His Throne. 40-37 B.C.

20. *HEROD THE GREAT THE KING OF THE JEWS.* 37-4 B.C. (Josephus.)

(86) His Slow Establishment of his Dynasty upon the Throne. 37-25 B.C.

(87) His Magnificent Policy of Building Fortresses, Cities and the Temple. 25-13 B.C.

(88) The Great Emphasis in His Day on Messianic Expectation.

(89) The Hostile Attitude of the Pharisees to Him.

(90) The Tragedy of Herod's Last Years. 13-4 B.C.

21. *THE HALF CENTURY OF GOVERNMENT BY THE HERODIAN FAMILY.* 4 B.C. to 44 A.D.

(91) The Weak and Disappointing Reign of Archelaus. 4 B.C. to 6 A.D.

(92) The Reign of Herod Antipas over Galilee and Perea. 4 B.C. to 39 A.D.

(93) The Quiet but Prosperous Reign of Herod Philip over the Northeast. 4 B.C. to 33 A.D.

(94) The Reign of Herod Agrippa I over Philip's Domain, then that of Antipas also, and Finally, for Four Years, over All the Domain of Herod the Great. 37-44 A.D.

22. *THE DIRECT ADMINISTRATION BY ROME OF JUDEAN INTERESTS.* 44-66 A.D.

(95) The Rule of Procurators in Judea. 6-40 A.D.

(96) Their Inefficient and Tyrannical Successors in the Administration of All Palestine.

23. *THE CAPTURE AND DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS THE ROMAN.* 70 A.D.

(97) The Refusal of the Exasperated Jews, led by the Zealots, to Honor the Emperor, their Rejection of Agrippa II's Counsel, and their Defeat of Gallus, the Legate of Syria. 66 A.D.

(98) The Gradual but Inevitable Mastery of Judea by the Roman Armies and the Capture and Sacking of Jerusalem. 67-70 A.D.

VI. THE TRAGIC AGE OF HELPLESS AND HOPELESS OBEDIENCE

24. *THE LONG PERIOD OF QUIESCENCE WITH RABBINICAL HEADQUARTERS AT JAMNIA.* 70-115 A.D.

(99) The Absolute Completion of the Old Testament by the Formal Edict of the Rabbinical Council of Jamnia, About 90 A.D.

25. *THE FATAL REBELLIONS OF THE DISPERSION AND IN PALESTINE, BRINGING ABOUT THE DESTRUCTION OF ALL VESTIGES OF A JEWISH STATE.* 115-135 A.D.

(100) The Decision of the Emperor Hadrian, because of the Stubborn Resistance of the Jews, to Destroy the Very Name of Jerusalem and to Substitute a Roman City and Temple. 135 A.D. Henceforth Judaism was only a Religious Fellowship.

APPENDIX
II
REFERENCES FOR THE TEACHER AND STUDENT

An acquaintance with the reference literature of Hebrew history is of great value to any student. To encourage his habit of looking up a more extended treatment of an interesting theme is wisdom on the part of the teacher. Attention is called below to some of the best untechnical literature available today. The books most frequently referred to are given abbreviations. Each group of references follows a number which corresponds to the number of the proper paragraph in the volume.

GENERAL BOOKS OF REFERENCE

BGH. *Biblical Geography and History.* Kent, 1911.
BHS. *The Bible for Home and School.* Edited by Mathews.
BrHAE. *A History of the Ancient Egyptians.* Breasted, 1905.
CambB. *The Cambridge Bible.* Various volumes.
CentB. *The New Century Bible.* Various volumes.
Dum. *The One Volume Bible Commentary.* Edited by Dummelow, 1909.
EncycBib. *The Encyclopedia Biblica.* Edited by Cheyne.
ExposB. *The Expositor's Bible.* Many volumes.
GASm Twelve. *The Book of the Twelve Prophets.* 2 vols. George Adam Smith, 1896.
GMW. *The Greater Men and Women of the Bible.* Ed. by Hastings, 1914.
GoodBA. *A History of the Babylonians and Assyrians.* Goodspeed, 1902.
GrayOT. *A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament.* Gray, 1913.
HastDB. *Dictionary of the Bible.* Edited by Hastings. One vol. ed.
HBi,ii, etc. *The Historical Bible.* Kent. In several volumes. *The Heroes and Crises of Early Hebrew History,* 1908 (HBi); *The Founders and Rulers of United Israel,* 1908 (HBii); *The Kings and Prophets of Israel and Judah,* 1909 (HBiii); *The Makers and Teachers of Judaism,* 1911 (HBiv).
HGHL. *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land.* George Adam Smith, 1894.
HPM. *History, Prophecy and the Monuments.* McCurdy, 1911. One volume edition.
HunterAE. *After the Exile.* Hunter, 2 vols., 1890. Oliphant.
IntCC. *The International Critical Commentary.* Many volumes.
JC. *History of the Jewish Church.* Stanley, 3 vols.
JastrowHBT. *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions.* Jastrow, 1914.
KentDK. *A History of the Hebrew People; The Divided Kingdom.* Kent.
KentJP. *A History of the Jewish People; Babylonian, Persian and Greek Periods.* Kent, 1909.
LAI. *A History of the Literature of Ancient Israel.* Fowler, 1912.
LOT. *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.* Driver. Revised edition, 1913.
McFad*Isa. Isaiah.* McFadyen, 1910.
MessEPr or LPr or PPHist. Volumes dealing with the *Earlier Prophets,* the *Later Prophets* and the *Prophetic and Priestly Historians* of the series, "Messages of the Bible."

OSBL. *Outlines for the Study of Biblical History and Literature.* Sanders and Fowler, 1906.
RiggsJP. *A History of the Jewish People; Maccabean and Roman Periods.* Riggs, 1900.
RogBA. *A History of Babylonia and Assyria.* Rogers, 1900.
Sm*Jerus.* *Jerusalem from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70.* 2 vols., George Adam Smith, 1908.
StanDB. *The Standard Dictionary of the Bible.* Edited by Jacobus.
StOTi,ii, etc. *The Student's Old Testament.* Kent. In several volumes. *Narratives of the Beginnings of Hebrew History,* 1903 (StOTi); *Historical and Biographical Narratives,* 1905 (StOTii); *Sermons, Epistles and Apocalypses of Israel's Prophets,* 1910 (StOTiii); *Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents,* 1907 (StOTiv); *Songs, Psalms and Prayers,* 1914 (StOTv).
WadeOTH. *Old Testament History,* Wade, 4th edit., 1906.
WildGI. *Geographic Influences in Old Testament Masterpieces.* Wild, 1915.
WoodBL. *The Bible as Literature.* Wood and Grant, 1914.

READING REFERENCES

(2) Compare George Adam Smith's preface to the first volume of *Jerusalem,* or Kent's opening chapter in HBi.
(11) HastDB "Apocrypha," 41-43, and "Greek Versions OT," 316-7; Smyth, *Bible in the Making,* 141-162 is full and clear.
(21) For a broader definition see BGH, 1-11, and the map facing p. 3; see also WadeOTH, 63, and HPM, 18, 19.
(23) The first volume of RogBA makes a clear and ample study of the land, its early history, and of the explorations. Read pp. 349-429 and chs. 10, 11. Goodspeed HBA, 71-106 is more condensed. Johns in HastDB, 67-70 is greatly condensed, but reliable. Note also HBi, 5-10. McCurdy, HPM, is very useful for a broad survey.
(24) BrHAE is a compactly written, but very clear and reliable, history of Egypt. Newberry and Garstang, *A Short History of Ancient Egypt,* is very brief, but good. Whatever Erman, Maspero or Budge have written is worth studying. HBi, 10-12.
(26) BGH, 19. HGHL, 3-41. GMWi, 158-163. WildGI, 1-23.
(28) HBi, 18-21. HGHL, 5-7. HPM, 5.
(30) Compare the fine section entitled "The History in the Literature," in Robinson's "Religious Ideas of the Old Testament" (1913).
(32) For a scholarly and helpful discussion of the origin of the ideas of these chapters, see Jastrow, *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions,* 1914; Ryle, *The Early Narratives of Genesis,* 1890; Worcester, *Genesis in the Light of Modern Knowledge,* and Davis, *Genesis and Semitic Tradition,* are popular and good. The most helpful commentary is that by Driver (Westminster Comm). Skinner's Genesis (IntCC) is comprehensive, and Mitchell's (BHS) is handy, but almost too brief. Wade OTH, 37-39.
(33-35) HBi, 36, 231-3; WadeOTH, 39-41; Driver *Gen* 2; HastDB, 165; JastrowHBT, 65-133.
(36-38) HBi, 31-37; WadeOTH, 41-42; Driver *Gen* 35-43, 57-60; Skinner *Gen* 51-71; GMWi, 8-10.

(39-41) HBi, 37-42; Wade OTH, 48-53; Driver *Gen* 44, 51-57; HastDB, 856.
(42-44) HBi, 52-65; Wade OTH, 57-62; HastDB, 184-5; Driver *Gen* 99-112; Skinner *Gen* 174-181.
(45-47) HBi, 65-72; Wade OTH, 63-74.
(48, 49) HastDB, 165; Driver *Gen* lxx.
(51) This subject is discussed by Driver *Gen* liv-lxi; Wade OTH, 81, 82; HBi, 78; GMWi, 112; HPM, 961.
(52) Fowler LAI, 75 quotes approvingly Professor Gardiner's high encomium in his *Bible as English Literature*, 37; HBi, 74.
(54) Some interesting remarks about the route are quoted in GMWi, 153-7, and JCi, 1-9.
(55) For descriptions of Ur and Haran see RogBAi, 290, 300; Driver *Gen* 142; GMWi, 120-126; HBi, 76.
(56) GMWi, 134-150 brings together interesting suggestions. JCi, 11-22; HBi, 77. MessagesPPHistorians 29. Skinner *Gen* xxvi-xxviii states the enduring basis of a confidence in Abraham.
(57) Paton, *Early History of Syria and Palestine*, passim; HPM, 167-171.
(59) JCi, 27; GMWi, 177-8; HBi, 77-8; HastDB, 554.
(62) GMWi, 173-5, 234-243; HBi, 82-3.
(63) HGHL, 504-510 and HBi, 87-90 discuss this theme thoroughly. See also Driver *Gen*, 202-3 and GMWi, 233.
(65) Paton, *Early Hist Syria Pal* 25-46 regards the two names of Abraham as due to the fusion in tradition of two originally distinct persons. Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*, 1896, is a standard authority on names. See also HastDB, 643-4; StanDB, 570-2.
(66) HBi, 92-4; Driver *Gen*, 216, 221-2; GMWi, 265-285; Mitchell *Gen*, 169; Cornill, *Culture Anc. Isr.* 9, 10.
(67) HastDB, 5, 6; MessPPHist, 29, 30; GMWi, 112, 116; HPM, 959.
(68) Note Skinner's remarks in *Gen*, 356-7.
(70) HBi, 99-101; JCi, 32-3; Skinner *Gen*, 339; GMWi, 389-394.
(71) Driver *Gen*, 249; MessPPHist, 30; JCi, 46-48; HBi, 106; GMWi, 406-411.
(73) Driver *Gen*, 255; Skinner *Gen*, 362; HastDB, 263; StandDB, 254; WadeOTH, 156.
(74) MessPPHist, 44, 31.
(76) HBi, 112; GMWi, 412-417.
(79) HBi, 113; Driver *Gen*, 209; GMWi, 418-9.
(80) MessPPHist, 46-7; JCi, 57-59; Driver *Gen*, 296-7; HGHL, 583-4; HBi, 119.
(81) JCi, 56-58; GMWi, 435-6.
(82) HBi, 113-4; HastDB, 947-8 gives an excellent summary of Guthe's theory by Craig; StanDB, 877.
(83) Skinner *Gen*, 440; Driver *Gen*, 319-20; GMWi, 479-80; Fowler LAI, 103; HBi, 124, 141; HPM, 960.
(87) HBi, 149-150; GMWii, 15; Driver *Gen*, 347; Breasted HAE, 200. For the Amarna letters and their significance see Sm*Jerus*ii, 6-14;

HBi, 16, 17; HPM, 175-189. Winckler, *The Tel-El-Amarna Letters* translates them in full; Wild GI, 25-27.
(88) HBi, 133.
(90) GMWi, 509-515; HBi, 141-3, 146-7.
(92) See remarks by Mitchell *Gen*, 339; Skinner *Gen*, 492, 3; Driver *Gen*, 365, xxxix in addenda; Orr, *Problem of the Old Testament*, 1906, 366-7.
(93) For its discussion see Driver *Gen*, 379 ff; Skinner *Gen*, 507 ff, or any commentary.
(94) MessagesPPHist, 31-2; Driver *Gen*, 400.
(95) HBi, 148; Driver *Gen*, l, li; Skinner *Gen*, 440-442 states the case with full reserve as compared with Sayce or Orr.
(96) Skinner *Gen*, xiv-xv.
(99) HBi, 152-4; Breasted HAG, 301-326 gives a fine characterization of Ramses; HPM, 190-203 discusses the Hittites, 213-26 Assyria; Rogers BA, 6-16 and Goodspeed BA, 143-154 are important.
(100) HBi, 154-5; Driver *Gen*, favors the longer estimate; GMWii, 15-16; Wade OTH, 98.
(101) GMWii, 16, 19, 29-30; HBi, 155-7; Wade OTH, 99-100.
(103) HBi, 158-9; MessPPHist, 52-4; GMWii, 30-47; Wade OTH, 101; Ebers' *Joshua*.
(104) HBi, 159-161; GMWii, 51-55; Wade OTH, 102-4.
(106) HBi, 168; Driver *Gen*, 402-409 "names of God"; HastDB, 299-300; StanDB, 296-7; GMWii, 85-94; Wade OTH, 104.
(108) HBi, 166-7, 181; MessPPHist, 54.
(109) HBi, 175-7; GMWii, 110-119; Wade OTH, 105-108.
(110) HBi, 178; Wade OTH, 108; Gray, *Com on Numbers*, 404-7; StanDB, 255-8; HastDB, 683-4; GMWii, 119-124.
(111) HBi, 181; Wade OTH, 110; GMWii, 128-9 refers to Prof. Petrie's suggestion.
(113) HBi, 182; Trumbull, *Kadesh-barnea* minutely discusses the situation; Kent BGH, 73-78.
(114) HBi, 183; Wade OTH, 108-9; GMWii, 133-141.
(115) HBi, 182-3; Wade OTH, 110.
(119) HBi, 187-9; GMWii, 130-131; Ebers' *Joshua*.
(120) Wade OTH, 112; GMWii, 154-8.
(121) HBi, 188-9; GMWii, 167-176; Harper, *Bible and Modern Discoveries*, 105, 111, strongly urges the location of Sinai in the peninsula; but see BGH, 115-6. Robinson in StandDB, 816, opposes and Macalister in HastDB, 863, does not support the new view.
(123) HBi, 187, 189; Wade OTH, 115.
(124) Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant*, is a classic. Robinson *Rel Ideas OT*, 186.
(125) HBi, 191-3; *Messages of Israel's Lawgivers*, 21-24.
(126) HBi, 191, 193-6; Wade OTH, 137-9; Woods in HastDB, 905-6, and Zenos in StanDB, 175 are good; Cornill, *Culture Ancient Israel*, 1914, 43-47, thinks that the second and fourth commandments could not have seemed binding to the Israel of Moses' day. But compare

Jastrow's fine chapter on the Sabbath in *Heb. Bab. Trads*, 1914, in which he takes opposite ground. Kent StOTiv, 26-27 instances a number of pentads.
(127) HBi, 200-1; Wade OTH, 135-7; a fine study is made by McCurdy, HPM, 93-105.
(129) See Robinson's remarks in *Rel Ideas OT*, 130-3; Wade OTH, 115, 139, 140; HBi, 209-10.
(130) HBi, 207; BGH, 116-8; HastDB, 511; Trumbull, *Kadesh-barnea*, 1884, treats all questions relating to Kadesh.
(131) HBi, 214-6; BGH, 118-120; Note HPM, 112.
(132) HBi, 221-2, 226; BGH, 120-3; HGHL, 557-562.
(133) HBi, 222-4; HGHL, 565-6; HastDB, 80; JCi, 168-175.
(135) HGHL, 565; HastDB, 632-5; Wade OTH, 132-3; StanDB, 561; Driver *Exodus* lxix; JCi, 180; Cornill *Culture Anc Isr*, 38-67.
(136) MessPPHist, 58; HBi, 227-8; GMWii, 297-312; HPM, 92, 93.
(139) Curtis BHS *Judges*, is an admirable commentary to use in connection with the reading of the Book of Judges; see particularly 9-13; LOT 160-171; IntCC *Judges;* MessPPHist, 121-126; Dum, 155-8; HBii, 3; Cooke *Judges*, xxiv-xxvii.
(140) BGH, 13-63 is a thorough survey of the land. Smith HGHL 45-53 should be read. There are good articles in StanDB, 612-623 and HastDB, 672. See also Wade OTH, 165-7; Wild GI, 119-140.
(141) Look up references under these names in HPM, HastDB, and StanDB. Note also HBi, 13-21; for the pre-Amorite period and the Amorite immigration see GAS *Jerusi*, 284-5; Paton, *Early Hist. Syria Pal.* ch. 1; Winckler, *Die Volker Vorderasiens* (Der Alte Orienti, Heft i).
(142) HPM, § 182-4; Wade OTH, 169-170.
(144) HBii, 2-6, 11-13; Wade OTH, 170-2; BGH, 124-7; JCi, 208; HBHL, 267-8, 276; GMWii, 387-8.
(145) Read McFadyen's comment in MessPPHist, 107-8 on the Deut. editor's idea of the Conquest. HGHL, 273-8, 659-662 and HPM, § 186, 473; HBii, 19, 20; BGH, 127-8.
(146) HBii, 20-21; BGH, 129, HGHL, 210, 250; HastDB, 396.
(147) HBii, 15; GMWii, 362-4, 407-410; Wade OTH, 190, 187.
(148) HGHL, 85-90 is a classic passage; Wade OTH, 277-9; HPM, § 465-510 is very valuable; HastDB, 56, 411, 412, GAS*Jerusi*, 278-281 discusses the ultimate evils involved.
(149) HGHL, 220, 473; BGH, 130; HastDB, 175; HPM, § 50, 62, 193.
(151) HBii, 25-27; JC, 261-6; HastDB, 412; Wade OTH, 190-1.
(153-4) HBii, 37-41; Wade OTH, 198-200; LOT, 171; Cooke, *The History and Song of Deborah*, 1892, and CambB, *Judges*, 1913; HGHL, 391-7; BGH, 131-3; JCi, 279-299; GMW, 444-457; HPM, § 479.
(156) HBii, 46-50; BGH, 136-8; HPM, § 189; Wade OTH, 200-4; JCi, 300-314; GMWii, 461-479.
(157) HBii, 52-4; Wade OTH, 205-7; JCi, 315-320; GMWii, 483-494.
(158) HBii, 60-2; BGH, 138-9; HPM, § 166, 192-4; Wade OTH, 320-330; GMWii, 497-520; Wild GI, 46-65 (very graphic).

(160) JCi, 268-70; Dum, 172-7; Wade OTH, 186, 223; HPM, § 503-510 is a capital study of the social and civic life of a man like Boaz.
(161) HPM, § 195; Kirkpatrick, CamB *Samuel*; StanDB, 768; HastDB, 214; JCi, 332-7.
(162) HGHL, 389-90, 358; BGH, 129.
(164) Fowler LAI, 46-8 makes an interesting comparison between early English prose writing and that of Israel. Note also 210, 255, 308; Smith in HastDB, 823-5; HBii, 65-6; LOT, 172-183. For reading purposes and vivid comment Kirkpatrick's (CambB) commentary has never been surpassed.
(165) Wade OTH, 213; MessPPHist, 139-142; StanDB, 768-771; HastDB, 824.
(167) HBii, 67; BGH, 138; HGHL, 169-198; Wade OTH, 169, 208-12; HPM, § 166, 192-195.
(168) HBii, 68-9; BGH, 140-1; HGHL, 223-6.
(169) HBii, 73-4; Wade OTH, 218; HGHL, 211.
(171) HBii, 75-6; BGH, 141-2; Wade OTH, 214-5; HPM, § 196; JCii, 3-8.
(172) HBii, 74-5; Wade OTH, 287-9; Messages EProph, 6; Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, lii-lviii, Kirkpatrick, *First Samuel* (CambB), introd.; Batten, *The Hebrew Prophet*, 27-72; HastDB, 413; Fowler LAI, 35.
(173) HBi, 76; Wade OTH, 216-7; Messages PPHist, 141; JCii, 8-9.
(175) HBi, 81-2; BGH, 144-5; Wade OTH, 218; JCii, 9-13.
(176) HBi, 82; Wade OTH, 219-220; JCii, 13-14; Kirkp, *Samuel*.
(177) HBi, 82-3; BGH, 145; Wade OTH, 220-1; HPM, § 197; StanDB, 774-5; HastDB, 397. Note also HPM, § 517.
(180) HastDB, 492; Wade OTH, 226-8; HBi, 97-8; JCii, 11, 12, 22.
(182) HastDB, 177-8; HBi, 89-92.
(183) HastDB, 178; HPM, § 197; Wade OTH, 229-233; BGH, 149-151; HBi, 98; HGHL, 229-30, 270, note 2, 306-7.
(185) HBi, 112-4.
(186) Wade OTH, 235; HGHL, 400-403; HBii, 118-9; BGH, 151-2, HPM, § 198.
(187) HGHL, 404-5; Fowler LAI, 37-9; HBii, 119; Dum, 196; JCii, 31-3.
(188) HBii, 126-7; BGH, 153-4; HPM, § 203; HastDB, 4, 468; StanDB, 4.
(189) HBii, 120; Wade OTH, 236-8; Fowler LAI, 35-6; JCii, 30-31.
(192) HBii, 131-2; BGH, 153-156; Wade OTH, 245-6; HPM, § 204; HGHL, 229, 218.
(193) HBii, 132-3; BGH, 157ff; GAS*Jerus*i, introd. 3-28 (a graphic description), 142-3; 250-259 (name), 108, 140, 144-154 (details), ii, 26-32, 47; JCii, 66-81; Wade OTH, 246-8; HPM, § 204; HGHL, 319-20.
(194) HBii, 133-4; GAS *Jerus*ii, 32-38; JCii, 75-6.
(195) HBii, 133; GAS *Jerus*ii, 38-39; Wade OTH, 248; JCii, 68-71.
(197) HBii, 145; BGH, 157-160, 13; JCii, 82-88; Wade OTH, 250-7; HGHL, 260; HPM, § 204, 552.

(198) HBii, 144, 133-4; JCii, 76-82; Wade OTH, 258-262; GAS *Jerus*ii, 52; HPM, § 205, 518-520.
(199) HBii, 138-140; Wade OTH, 249-50, 275-6.
(200) See Fowler's characterization in LAI, 61-65, and Driver's in LOT, 183; GAS *Jerus*ii, 48 and Budde's remark in the footnote.
(201) HBii, 150-152; JCii, 89-94; Wade OTH, 262.
(202) HGHL, 579-80; HBii, 157-9, 173-5; BGH, 160-1; JCii, 95-111.
(203) Wade OTH, 289-293.
(205) Wade OTH, 271-2; HBii, 179-180; BGH, 161-2; JCii, 144-8; GAS *Jerus*i, 180 (for Gihon and Rogel).
(206) Wade OTH, 272; HBii, 180.
(207) Wade OTH, 272-6; HBii, 180-182; JCii, 120-1; HastDB, 179; StanDB, 173-4; GAS *Jerus*ii, 47.
(208) Fowler LAI, 257-8; Messages PPHist, 178-80; LOT, 189-193.
(210) GAS *Jerus*ii, 49-52; Wade OTH, 294-6; HBii, 189-191.
(211) GAS*Jerus*i, 347-9; ii, 52-3; Wade OTH, 306-8; JCii, 162-4; HBii, 189-90; StanDB, 821.
(212) HBii, 205-6; Wade OTH, 304-5; JCii, 164-7; GAS*Jerus*ii, 57-72 works out full details; StanDB, 822.
(213) HBii, 206; BGH, 162-3; Wade OTH, 297; JCii, 167-70; GAS-*Jerus*i, 343; HGHL, 270, note 2.
(215) HBii, 198-9; BGH, 164; GAS*Jerus*i, 351-3; StanDB "Temple," 848-9 (well illustrated); HastDB, 898.
(216) HBii, 199; Wade OTH, 300-302; JCii, 174-180; StanDB, 849-50; HastDB, 898-9.
(217) HBii, 199-200; Wade OTH, 302-3; StanDB, 850-3; HastDB, 899-900.
(218) HBii, 201-2; JCii, 180-192; GAS*Jerus*ii, 72-80 is of great value; HGHL, 488 (foundries); HastDB, 869-900.
(220) GAS*Jerus*i, 324, 328, 354-60; HBii, 206-7; Wade OTH, 298-300, 305; HPM, § 206; HGHL, 580; StanDB, 822; HastDB, 869.
(221) HBii, 207-8; JCii, 211-4; HastDB, 869.
(222) HBii, 208; Wade OTH, 308; HPM, § 206, 209.
(224) Wade OTH, 309-11; BGH, 164-6; JCii, 215; GAS*Jerus*ii, 49-52. 80-82; HPM, § 206; Kent's whole chapter in *The Divided Kingdom*, 1897, is worth reading as a review; StanDB, 822-3; HastDB, 869-870.
(227) HPM, § 216 and note 6, pp. 409-411; StOTii, 492-4 (very clear statement); Wade OTH, 317-321; Kent *Divided Kingdom*, 12-15.
(228) HBiii, 3, 4; Kent DK, 3-7; StOTii, 3-7; LAI, 257-260; Wade OTH, 9, 10; LOT, 185-9.
(229) Curtis *Chronicles* (IntCCom); StOTii, 7; LAI, 303-6; HastDB, 131-2; StanDB, 124-6.
(230) Kent DK, 11, 58-60; Rogers BA, vol. i; GoodBA, 32.
(231) HBiii, 4, 5; Kent DK, 16-23; Wade OTH, 310-313; HastDB, 399; HPM, § 206, 208, 511-529; BGH, 165-7; JCii, 231.
(232) HBiii, 7, 119; Kent DK, 24, 25; Wade OTH, 321-2; HPM, § 210, 272-8; BGH, 167-8; HGHL, 331; JCii, 235-6; Sm *Jerus* ii, 83.
(235) HPM, § 979, 1357; JCii, 239-40; Sm *Jerus* ii, 86-7; HBiii, 6.

(236) HBiii, 120; Wade OTH, 323-5; HPM, § 210.
(237) HBiii, 120; Wade OTH, 326-8; HPM, § 211, 215.
(238) Wade OTH, 329.
(239) HBiii, 13, 14; Wade OTH 329; BGH, 168-170, 70-72; HGHL, 345-7; Sm *Jerus* ii, 93-4; JCii, 242-3.
(241) HBiii, 14; Wade OTH, 330; HPM, § 212-3, 216-220; RogBAii, 46-71; GoodBA, 187-202; HastDB, 400; StOTii, 294-6.
(242) HBiii, 15-17; Wade OTH, 400; JCii, 244-7; BGH, 171.
(243) Sm *Jerus* ii, 96-99; Wade OTH, 331; JCii, 332-8.
(244) HPM, § 912-924, 927, 931-4; LAI, 46-86; Sm*Jerus* ii, 95.
(246) HBiii, 25, 26; LAI, 90-93; Wade OTH, 336-9; MessPPHist, 198-201.
(247) Kent DK, 62-4; Wade OTH, 400-402; HPM, § 214, 295-7; HastDB, 761; MessEPr, 3-10 Smith *Prophet and His Problems*, 3-58.
(248) BGH, 172; KentDK, 51-53; HGHL, 337-341; HBiii, 26-7; Wade OTH, 335; JCii, 249-261.
(249) BGH, 172; HBiii, 27-29; JCii, 261-9; HPM, §982-3; Wild GI, 66-79.
(250) HBiii, 36-38; HPM, §213; Wade OTH, 335, 337, 400; HastDB, 468.
(251) Kent DK, 70-71; Good BA, 212-222; RogBA, 72-91; HBiii, 35, 36.
(252) HBiii, 28, 48; Wade OTH, 341-3; JCii, 276-281; HGHL, 581-2; MessPPHist, 207-212.
(253) HBiii, 48-50; Kent DK, 65-9; BGH, 174-6; Wade OTH, 344-7; JCii, 282-291; HastDB, 431.
(256) HBiii, 51-3; Kent DK, 71-3; JCii, 292-300; HPM, § 244-6, 252.
(257) HBiii, 121; Wade OTH, 348; JCii, 338; Sm *Jerus* ii, 100-2.
(258) Kent DK, 120-1; Wade OTH, 349; JCii, 339-342; Sm *Jerus* i, 102-6.
(259) Kent DK, 121-2; Wade OTH, 350; JCii, 342-7; Sm *Jerus* ii, 106-112.
(261) HBiii, 123; Sm *Jerus* ii, 108-113.
(262) HBiii, 122-3, 126-7; Wade OTH, 355-7; JCii, 371-9; Sm *Jerus* ii, 117-125; HPM, § 268-9, 306, 308.
(263) HBiii, 51-53; BGH, 176; Wade OTH, 353-4; JCii, 307-12; HPM, § 262-6.
(264) HBiii, 121-2; LAI, 96-104; LOT, 118, 122-5; HPM, § 926, 928, 930; MessPPHist, 5-26; StOTi, Introd.
(265) HBiii, 105; Kent DK, 76-7, 98-9; BGH, 176; Sm *Jerus* ii, 125-6; HPM, § 635-8, 307-8, 310-11.
(268) Wade OTH, 321; Sm *Jerus* ii, 148, 180; Kent DK, 59, 60, 117-9; HPM, § 635-8.
(269) A capital commentary on Amos, Hosea and Micah is that by Prof. J. M. P. Smith (BHS, 1914). W. R. Harper, *Amos and Hosea* (IntCCom, 1905); Driver, *Joel and Amos* (CambB, 1897); Horton in *Minor Prophets* (CentB, two vols, 1904); and G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve*, vol. i (ExposB, 1896) are excellent. Note also MessEPr, 23-44; HBiii, 57-79.

(270) HBiii, 58-60; JMPSmith *Amos*, 7, 8; MessEPr, 23-28; GAS *Twelve* i, 73-120; BGH, 177-8.
(271) McFadyen *A Cry for Justice* (Short Course Series) is an admirable study of the message of Amos; HPM, § 867, 264, 302-4; LOT, 313-8; LAI, 105-119; JMPSmith *Amos*, 8-12; MessEPr, 29-44 paraphrases the message; HBiii, 61-79; GASm *Twelve;* 121-207.
(272) HBiii, 83, 94; JMPSmith *Hosea*, 71-75; GASm*Twelve* i, 24-226.
(273) HBiii, 84-86; JMPSm *Hosea*, 75-82; id. *Prophet and His Problems*, 1914, 109-136; GASm *Twelve* i, 227-252; BGH, 178-180.
(274) HBiii, 86-102; LAI, 119-129; MessEPr, 47-76; JMPSm *Hosea*, 83-85; GASm *Twelve* i, 253-354.
(276) HBiii, 105-7; BGH, 180-181; JCii, 312-320; HPM, § 267, 306-7, 310, 316, 331-2, 342-353.
(277) HBiii, 107-111; JCii, 321-4; HPM, § 360-364.
(278) HBiii, 105-7; RogBAii, 137-156; GoodBA, 240-246.
(281) HBiii, 136-7; MessEPr, 84-6; HastDB, 387-392. McFadyen *Isaiah* (BHS, 1910) is a choice commentary for the average reader. Whitehouse *Isaiah* (2 vols. CentB, 1908) is especially good for the historical setting. Skinner *Isaiah* (2 vols. Camb. B, 1905) is equally strong in interpretation. G. A. Smith *Isaiah* (2 vols. Expos. B., 1896) is generally illuminating, but must be occasionally revised in accordance with Smith's fine article in the larger Hastings *Dictionary of the Bible.*
(282) HBiii, 127-130; MessEPr, 86-8; LAI, 140-2; JCii, 383-9.
(283) HBiii, 137-141, 146-150; HPM, § 318-324; MessEPr, 88-96; LAI, 143-150; Sm *Jerus* ii, 132-141.
(285) HBiii, 146-150; HPM, § 639-641, 325-330; MessEPr, 96-107; LAI, 150-1; Sm *Jerus* ii, 125-130, 144-7.
(288) HBiii, 157-8; RogBAii, 169; HPM, § 649-659; GoodBA, 248-250; Sm *Jerus* ii, 138, 148-150, 179-180.
(289) HBiii, 165-9; MessEPr, 111-122; JMPSmith *Micah*, 157-164, 165-8.
(290) GoodBA, 265-283; RogBAii, 183-215.
(291) HBiii, 158; MessEPr, 135-7; RogBAii, 191-202.
(292) HBiii, 158-9; MessEPr, 145-156.
(295) HBiii, 159-161; MessEPr, 163-7; HPM, § 680-685.
(296) HPM, § 685-8; RogBA, 200.
(297) HBiii, 176-8; MessEPr, 167-9; HPM, § 698-704.
(298) HBiii, 179-181; Sm *Jerus* ii, 142, 224-6; JCii, 410-2; HPM, § 796, 732.
(299) HBiii, 169-170; HPM, § 796; Sm *Jerus* ii, 175-7; JCii, 400-1.
(300) McFad *Isa*, 2, 180-216; MessEPr, 122-130; HastDB, 614; LAI, 165-191.
(301) HBiii, 179-181; McFad *Isa*, 8-13; HastDB, 386-7.
(302) Sm *Jerus* ii, 178-180; HPM, § 791-5.
(303) HBiii, 181; MessEPr, 126; LAI, 166-9; HPM, § 1006-7.
(304) LAI, 169-174; Robinson *Relig. Ideas* O.T., 223; JMPSmith *Prophet and His Problems*, 137-167; Wade OTH, 422-436; HBiii, 190.

(307) HBiii, 188-9; Wade OTH, 373-4; RogBA, 216-245; GoodBA, 284-301; HPM, § 745-762.
(308) HBiii, 186; Wade OTH, 373, 375; Kent DK, 159-162; Sm *Jerus* ii, 181-190; BGH, 188; JCii, 420-4; HastDB, 576.
(309) HBiii, 187; LAI, 176; Sm *Jerus* ii, 190-195; Wade OTH, 437.
(310) LAI, 203-211; HastDB, 350; StOTi, Introd. HPM, § 935 dates JE about 700 B.C.
(313) HBiii, 313; RogBA, 246-282; GoodBA, 302-319; HPM, § 763-790, 816-819; JMPSmith *Zephaniah* (Int.CCom, 1911), 159-162.
(314) HBiii, 196-7; GoodBA, 323; Sm *Jerus* ii, 228-9, 234-5; HPM, § 809-15; Breasted HAE, 387-403; JMPSmith *Zephaniah*, 163.
(315) HBiii, 195-6; Wade OTH, 376; HPM, § 835-841; GASmith *Twelve* ii, 199-202.
(316) HBiii, 196-8; HPM, § 814, 380, 1138; Driver *Zephaniah* (New Cent.B); GASmith *Twelve* ii, 35-74; MessEPr, 187-197; JMPSmith *Zephaniah*.
(318) HastDB, 435-6; HBiii, 250-4; LOT, 249, 271-2; LAI, 214; HPM, § 1082, note.
(319) HBiii, 206-7; HastDB, 434; LAI, 192-4; LOT, 250; MessEPr, 205-6; BGH, 188-189; GASm *Jerus* ii, 228; Wade OTH, 376.
(320) HastDB, 434; HBiii, 207-9; LAI, 194-9; LOT, 250-253; MessEPr, 206-216; HPM, § 1085-7; Sm *Jerus* ii, 233-239.
(322) HBiii, 214; HPM, § 839-845; Sm *Jerus* ii, 199-200.
(323) HBiii, 214; Jordan *Deuteronomy* (BHS, 1911), 11-13; JCii, 427-8; HPM, § 846-851; Sm *Jerus* ii, 201-5.
(324) LAI, 176-8; Sm *Jerus* ii, 205-8; HBiii, 215-6; StOTiv (useful for any comparative study of the codes); McFadyen MessPPHist, 87-99.
(325) LAI, 178-189; Sm *Jerus* ii, 208-220; Driver *Deuteronomy*; Jordan *Deut.* Introd.; HBiii, 216-236.
(326) LAI, 251-261; HPM, § 865-945; LOT, 102-4, 164, 185, 274.
(328) HBiii, 214-5; HPM, § 852-863, 1019.
(329) HBiii, 243-4; HPM, § 1027.
(330) Sm *Jerus* ii, 223-226; LAI, 199-201; HPM, § 1020-1026, 1069-70.
(334) HPM, § 1027-1037; Breasted HAE, 404-5; StOTiii, 191; HBiii, 244.
(335) HPM, § 1038-1040; HBiii, 244-5; Sm *Jerus* ii, 246; BrHAE, 405-7; Wade OTH 380. To note strategic position of Riblah see special map facing p. 73 in BGH and read p. 80.
(336) HBiii, 245; Sm *Jerus* ii, 224-6, 239-40; LAI, 214-6.
(337) For the arrangement of Jeremiah's prophecies during this perplexing period consult Kent StOTiii, 191-217; HBiii, 245-7; Wade OTH, 382; LAI, 213-8.
(338) HBiii, 190; MessEPr, 173-183; LAI, 201-2; LOT, 334-7; JMPSmith *Nahum* (IntCCom, 1911); HPM, § 831-3.
(339) HPM, § 820-828, 1045-1052; RogBAii, 283-295; GoodBA, 320-330; Wade OTH, 379.
(341) JCii, 455; HBiii, 263-4; Wade OTH, 380.

(342) HastDB, 322 is very helpful; MessEPr, 219-226; LOT, 337-340; HBiii, 264-5; HPM, § 1128-1139, 1172; LAI, 220. GASm *Twelve* ii, 115-159; Driver *Habakkuk* (NewCentB, 1906); Ward *Habakkuk* Int CCom., 1911).
(343) HastDB, 649; HBiii, 265-7; RogBA, 316-8; GoodBA, 347-9.
(345) HBiii, 267; KentDK, 190-192; HastDB, 404.
(346) MessEPr, 243-262; StOTiii, 226-9.
(348) HBiii, 268; JCii, 461; KentDK, 192-3.
(349) HBiii, 268-9; KentDK, 190-194; Sm *Jerus* ii, 246-7; JCii, 460-4; HastDB, 404.
(351) HPM, § 1148-1155; Wade OTH, 385; JCii, 440-3.
(352) HBiii, 289-291; JMPSmith *Prophet and His Problems*, 59-86; JCii, 442-6.
(354) HastDB, 251; LAI, 234; LOT, 278-286.
(355) HBiii, 275-6; HastDB, 251; LAI, 233; JCii, 482-93; MessLPr, 19-28.
(356) HBiii, 276-7; LAI, 235-7; MessLPr, 28-31.
(357) HBiii, 277-9; LAI, 234, 237-9; MessLPr, 35-60; HPM, § 1174-1206.
(360) HPM, § 1207-1217; HBiii, 291-2; Wade OTH, 384-5; Sm *Jerus* ii, 251.
(361) HPM, § 1218-1222; HBiii, 292; Sm *Jerus* ii, 251-2.
(362) HPM, § 1223-4; HBiii, 292; Wade OTH, 385; JCii, 467.
(363) HPM, § 1225-6; HBiii, 293; JCii, 469; Sm *Jerus* ii, 253.
(364) HPM, § 1227-1233; HBiii, 301; Wade OTH, 386; JCii, 469-71; Sm *Jerus* ii, 254.
(365) HPM, § 1234-1236; HBiii, 302; JCii, 471-4.
(367) MessEPr, 173-296 covers the whole ground. Kirkpatrick's *Doctrine of the Prophets* is helpful and Jordan's *Prophetic Ideas and Ideals*.
(368) For this comparison read Barton's fine article in HastDB, 413-4.
(369) LAI, 175-232 may be wisely reviewed at this point, with regard to the Psalter see StOTv, which freshly and thoroughly traverses its history.
(372) HastDB, 132.
(373) HastDB, 176; LOT, 511.
(374) For a strong defense of the generally accepted order of events see GASm *Twelve* ii, 198-221 and *Jerus*ii, 295-300; for an opposing view see HBiv, 38-40 and Kent HistJP, 101-111, 126-136. Professor Charles C. Torrey in *Ezra Studies*, 1910, makes a brilliant and original study of the book of Ezra, concluding that it is little better than romance and unreliable as history. The commentaries by Batten (IntCCom, 1913) and by Ryle (CambB, 1900) are very good. Note also HastDB, 393, 254, 651; MessPPHist, 314-318.
(375) HPM, § 1263-7; HBiv, 5; Wade OTH, 452-3.
(378) Sm*Jerus*ii, 266-271; HastDB, 405; HBiv, 7-12; BGH, 194-9.
(379) HBiii, 303-4; HastDB, 284; HPM § 1240-1250; Wade OTH, 387-8.

(380) HPM § 1252-7; Wade OTH, 388-9.
(381) HBiii, 304-7; HPM § 1258-1262.
(382) HastDB, 252a; LAI, 242-7; Davidson *Ezekiel* (CambB); Skinner, *Ezekiel* (ExposB).
(383) HBiv, 5-7; HPM § 1236-9; KentJP, 11-13, 62; Sm*Jerus*ii, 271-283; LAI 247-250; LOT, 456-465; HastDB, 527; Peters, *Hebrew and Christian Literature* has a capital translation of these poems; also StOTv, 18-21, 73-82.
(386) HBiv, 18-20; Wade OTH, 389-392; BGH, 197-8; HPM § 1272-1349, a very elaborate and valuable study.
(387) LAI, 239-241; HBiv, 20-22; MessLPr, 99-108; Skinner *Ezekiel* (ExposB); Davidson *Ezekiel* (CambB).
(388) HPM § 1344-5; LAI, 241; HBiv, 22-23; StOTiv, 182 gives an illuminating diagram, illustrating Ezekiel's scheme of allotment; Davidson's *Ezekiel* (CambB) also has excellent diagrams; StanDB, 854 illustrating the Temple; MessLPr, 111-128.
(389) HBiii, 265-7; HPM § 1052, 1364-8; RogBA, 316-353.
(391) HPM § 1147; KentJP, 66; RogBA, 354-5.
(392) HPM § 1350-1363; HBiv, 27, 28; LAI, 233-261; HastDB, 405.
(393) HPM § 1362; HBiv, 28-30; LOT, 47-59, 145-152; HastDB, 356; StOTiv, 36-42.
(394) HBiv, 30-32; KentJP, 66-72; HPM § 1364-72; GoodBA, 349-368; RogBAii, 354-368.
(395) HBiv, 32-3; KentJP, 72-76; HPM § 1373-89; HastDB, 173; JCiii, 47-49; GoodBA, 368-372; RogBAii, 368-373.
(398) KentJP, 6-7, 77-8; HPM § 1450-4; LAI, 262-6; McFad*Isa*, 108-119, 143-8; MessLPr, 137-145.
(399) HPM § 1405-7; LAI, 266; HBiv, 60-3; McFad*Isa*, 247-249; MessLPr, 149-154; Wood BL, 80.
(400) HPM § 1408-11; LAI, 267-272; HBiv, 63-4; MessLPr, 160-179.
(401) LAI, 272-4; HBiv, 99-104, 72; McFad*Isa*, 252-6; Robinson *Rel. Ideas OT*, 176; MessLPr, 155-160.
(402) HBiv, 100; McFad*Isa*, 319-353; MessLPr, 180-193.
(403) LAI, 274-7; HPM § 1465; McFad*Isa*, 249-252.
(405) LAI, 277; HBiv, 30-2; GoodBA, 372-6; RogBA, 373-381.
(406) HPM § 1412-1420; HBiv, 32-4; Sm*Jerus*ii, 294-8; JCiii, 74-81; StOTii, 339-342; Xenophon's Cyropedia.
(407) HBiv, 34; Wade OTH, 465-8; for a close and vivid study of the remainder of the postexilic period from a conservative standpoint see Hunter *After the Exile*, 2 vols., 1900; Sm*Jerus*ii, 299; JCiii, 82-88.
(408) HBiv, 34; Wade OTH, 468; Sm*Jerus*ii, 299; JCiii, 88-90.
(411) Sm*Jerus*ii, 300; KentJP, 137-8; HBiv, 41; *Persia* (Story of Nations); Ebers, *The Egyptian Princess* is a romance founded on the facts mentioned in this paragraph; Hunter *After the Exile* describes the period well.
(412) HBiv, 51.
(413) Sm*Jerus*ii, 300-2; LOT, 343-4; KentJP, 139-143; HBiv, 41-2; LAI, 278; MessLPr, 197-212.

(414) LOT, 344; HBiv, 49; MessLPr, 323-326.
(415) LOT, 344-6. KentJP, 144-151; HBiv, 49-52; LAI, 278-280; MessLPr, 212-233
(417) KentJP, 148-9; HBiv, 42; Read the article "Darius the Great" in any good encyclopedia, especially the last edition of the *Brittanica.*
(418) Sm*Jerus*ii, 305-310; StanDB, 854-5; HastDB, 900-901. An idea of the general arrangement of the Second Temple may be had by reference to the diagram at end of Dummelow's commentary.
(419) HBiv, 42-3; Sm*Jerus*, 310-3.
(420) KentJP, 148-9; HBiv, 51-2; Sm*Jerus*ii, 313-6.
(421) See Wade's long summary in OTH, 491-511.
(422) For a complete discussion of these Psalter problems see StOTv; LAI, 283-6.
(423) Sm*Jerus*ii, 331-4; JCiii, 121-3 (calls attention to Ezra's ultimate fame).
(426) HBiv, 60; MessLPr, 237-8; Sm*Jerus*ii, 315; *Persia* (History of Nations).
(427) HBiv, 70; HastDB, 203; Haskins and Libbey *The Jordan Valley and Petra*, 2 vols. 1905 ; Wild GI, 36, 107.
(428) LAI, 250; MessLPr, 63-72; KentJP, 26, 10; StOTiii, 399-401; Bewer, *Obadiah* (IntCCom, 1911); Horton *Obadiah* (NewCentB); GASmith *Twelve*ii, 163-184.
(429) Sm*Jerus*ii, 317, 321-4; HBiv, 123-4; LAI, 280-283; MessLPr, 252-285; McFadyen, *Isaiah.*
(430) GASm. *Twelve*ii, 331-372; HBiv, 70-72; LAI, 287-290; MessLPr, 237-252; JMPSmith, *Malachi* (IntCCom, 1912); Driver *Malachi* (NewCentB).
(432) Sm*Jerus*ii, 329-331, 343-4; HBiv, 130-3; HastDB, 253; Hunter *After the Exile*; JCiii, 101-103, 123-6; KentJP, 195-199; Ryle, *Ezra and Nehemiah* (CambB); Torrey *Ezra Studies*, 1910; Batten *Ezra and Nehemiah* (IntCCom, 1913).
(433) HastDB, 253; Hunter *AE*; JCiii, 103-109; KentJP, 199-208 (an organization of the data which differs from that in this volume).
(434) Sm*Jerus*ii, 334; Hunter *AE* states the case in full detail.
(436) Sm*Jerus*ii, 325-9; HBiv, 112; LAI, 290-2; KentJP, 110; Ryle, *Ez. and Neh.;* Batten, *Ez. and Neh.*
(437) Sm*Jerus*ii, 335iii; HBiv, 112-3; JCiii, 109-111; KentJP, 167-170; BGH, 200; Hunter *AE* is very vivid and readable.
(438) Sm*Jerus*ii, 335-9; HBiv, 113-116; JCiii, 111-115, 118-120; KentJP, 171-6; BGH, 201-5.
(439) Sm*Jerus*ii, 348-9; HBiv, 116; JCiii, 115; KentJP, 178-181; Hunter *AE.*
(440) Sm*Jerus*ii, 339-343; HBiv, 123-6; JCiii, 117; KentJP, 182-192.
(441) HBiv, 117, 126; JCiii, 121; KentJP, 192-4; BGH, 205; Compare Hunter, Ryle and Batten.
(443) HunterAE discusses Ezra's work quite fully; HBiv, 131-3 takes an opposite view.
(444) HBiv, 131; JCiii, 126-135; KentJP, 209.

(445) HBiv, 131; KentJP, 209-212; HunterAE gives a detailed account.
(446) LAI, 309-312; Jessup and Canby *"The Short Story"* p. 4, calls Ruth "one of the best told and most beautiful stories in all literature." Compare also Albright *The Short Story: Its Principles and Structure;* KentJP, 117;
(447) HBiv, 132-4; KentJP, 212-4; Sm*Jerus*ii, 345, 353, 362-3; MessIsrLawgivers, 36-43.
(448) LAI, 294-301; PSmyth *Bible in the Making,* 115-123; MessPrP Hist, 239-247; Moore "Historical Literature" in *Encyc. Bib.;* Gray *Crit.IntrodOT,* chs. 3-6.
(449) LAI, 301-3; StOTIntrod; LOT, 5; Gray *Crit.IntrodOT,* 39-51.
(450) HBiv, 134; KentJP, 239-251; Sm*Jerus*ii, 361-6.
(451) HastDB, 415b, 416; KentJP, 252-267.
(456) Sm*Jerus*i, 384-398 traces the gradual operation of the Law and increase of high-priestly authority. Compare also ii, 362-3.
(457) For a careful, sane study of the problems of Joel see Professor Bewer's *Joel* (IntCCom, 1911); StOTiii, 409-16 offers a fine translation and illuminating critical notes.
(458) HBiv, 141-2; MessLPr, 289-302; GASm*Twelve*ii, 375-436; Horton's *Joel* (New-CentB) is good; LAI, 316-7.
(459) Sm*Jerus*ii, 351, 374n5, 367n2, 393n, 422; HBiv, 143-5; KentJP, 215-223; Montgomery, *The Samaritans;* Rothstein, *Juden und Samaritaner,* 1908.
(461) HBiv, 72-95; Schmidt, MessPoets, 1911; a capital commentary is G. A. Barton's (BHS, 1911); Genung *Epic of Inner Life,* and Davidson's *Job* (CambB) are of sterling value; LAI, 321-336.
(462) LAI, 303-308; Curtis *Chronicles* (IntCCom) is standard; McFadyen MessPPrHist, 270-285 is helpful. Note also his *O.T. Introduction* and Gray *Crit. Introd O.T.,* 87-96.
(463) Mahaffy *Greek Life from Alexander to the Roman Conquest,* 1887; Sm*Jerus*ii, 367-371, espec. 371*n*; BGH 207; for apocryphal books see Charles and others, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O.T. in English,* 1913.
(464) Wheeler, *Alexander the Great;* Sm*Jerus*ii, 372-5, 398-408; HBiv, 151-2; HastDB, 20; BGH, 207-9.
(465) Gulick, *Life of the Ancient Greeks;* Sm*Jerus*ii, 419-424; HBiv, 190-191; article "Diaspora," in HastDB, extra volume.
(466) Mahaffy *The Ptolemaic Dynasty;* Sm*Jerus*ii, 375-408, 380; HBiv, 152-5; Wade OTH, 488-9; BGH, 209.
(467) Mahaffy *Greek Life,* etc.; E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus.*
(468) Sm*Jerus*ii, 413, 409; HBiv, 162-7; HastDB, 204; Kent, *Wise Men of Ancient Israel and Their Proverbs;* Sanders, *Messages of the Sages,* 1915; Genung, *The Hebrew Literature of Wisdom* (1906), 1-87.
(469) HBiv, 159-162; Kent, *Wise Men,* etc.; Genung, *Hebr. Lit. Wisdom,* 91-142; Toy *Proverbs* (IntCCom, 1899); Moulton *Mod. R. Bible,* single vol., 1452-58; LAI, 343-352.

(470) HBiv, 181-6; Genung *Hebr. Lit. Wisdom*, 251-279; Moulton *Mod. R. Bible*, 1458-69; LAI 352-8.
(471) Sm*Jerus*ii, 409-419; HBiv, 175-7; Genung *Hebr. Lit. Wisdom*, 199-247; Barton *Ecclesiastes* (IntCCom, 1908); Genung *Words of Koheleth*, 1904; Plumptre *Ecclesiastes* (CambB, 1887); Moulton *Mod. R. Bible*, 1469-75; LAI, 337-343.
(472) HBiv, 214; McFadyen *Isaiah*, 160-179; Mitchell *Zechariah* (IntCCom, 1912), 218-357; MessLPr, 313-9, 323-36; HastDB, 986.
(473) HBiv, 140-1; LAI, 359-374; StOTv, 22-29, 47; is a fresh and careful study; Schmidt, MessPoets, 213-277; note also Wild GI, 80-83.
(474) Sm*Jerus*ii, 399, 416, 417, 353; HBiv, 174-5; LAI, 313-6; MessLPr, 339-354; Charles *Eschatology*, 115-6.
(475) HBiv, 172-4; KentJP, 311-322.
(476) Ramsay *Cities of St. Paul*, 181 bb.; HBiv, 189-190, 192-193; Wade OTH, 489-90; KentJP, 323-6; Sm*Jerus*ii, 424-432; JCiii, 251-6.
(477) HBiv, 193; Wade OTH, 490; KentJP, 327-330; BGH, 209-10; Sm*Jerus*ii, 432-6; JCiii, 257-264.
(478) HBiv, 189-90; On the "abomination of desolation" see the excellent note on p. 453 of Sm*Jerus*ii; on the site of the citadel see ibid. 447-452 and the references given; Riggs JP (Histor Series Bible Students, 1900), 14-24; for a good historical romance on this period see Ludlow's *Deborah*.
(479) Conder *Judas Maccabaeus;* HBiv, 200-1; KentJP, 334-6; Riggs JP, 24-28; BGH, 210-11; Sm*Jerus*ii, 400 ff; JCiii, 267-270 (explains the well-known names).
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(487) HBiv, 230-1, 237; BGH, 222-4; Sm*Jerus*ii, 457; JCiii, 308-317; RiggsJP, 53-68.
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(490) HBiv, 239; Cornill *The Culture of Ancient Israel,* 133-162; StOTV; LAI, 373-4; Wood BL, 164-171.
(491) HBiv, 244-6; BGH, 225-6; Sm*Jerus*ii, 459-463; JCiii, 323-5; RiggsJP, 97-104, 114-116.
(492) HBiv, 251-4; Fairweather, *Background of the Gospels,* 1909; HastDB, 719-20, 818, 238-9; RiggsJP, 105-114; Mathews *HistNTTimes.*
(493) HBiv, 260-2; JCiii, 225-232; RiggsJP, 77; HastDB, 315-317; for the Letter of Aristaeas see Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha;* the Greek text is in Swete's *Introd to OTin Greek,* 1900 and an excellent English translation by Thackeray is in the *Jewish Quarterly Review,* vol. xv; note also Sm*Jerus*ii, 440n, 441n, 451n; Encyc.Britii., 494.
(494) HastDB, 111-113; StanDB, 597-601; Ryle *The Canon of the OT,* 1895; Woods "OTCanon" in HastDB, vol. iii; Dummelow Com. xiii.
(495) Fairweather, *Background of Gospels;* HastDB, 832; RiggsJP, 215-228; JCiii, 130-135.
(496) HBiv, 246-7, 269-70; BGH, 226-7; Sm*Jerus*ii, 463; RiggsJP, 117-126; JCiii, 325-6.
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(498) HBiv, 262; RiggsJP, 77-81, 85, 86; for the text of the Oracles see Charles *Apoch. and Pseud.* See also *Eschat.,* 207-8..
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(500) Sm*Jerus*ii, 535-9; RiggsJP, 222; Porter, *MessApoc. Writers,* 1905; Fairweather, *Background Gospels;* Torrey "Apocalypse" in Jewish Encyclop. i, 669-675; Charles in HastDB. vol i, 109-110; in EncycBib., vol i, 213-250, *Eschat.,* 213-20; 260-6, 235-40; Dummelow, Com. lxi-lxiv; Wood BL, 209-212.
(501) HBiv, 271-2; BGH, 228-230; RiggsJP, 131-136; Mathews *HistNTTimes;* Moss, *From Malachi to Matthew;* JCiii, 350-360.
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(509) HBv, 39-42; Sm*Jerus*ii, 478-481; JCiii, 361-5.
(510) BGH, 233; Sm*Jerus*ii, 481-2; RiggsJP, 179-190.
(511) HBiv, 294-5; Sm*Jerus*ii, 482-494; RiggsJP, 191-202.
(512) HBiv, 300-302; BGH, 233-4; Sm*Jerus*ii, 499-520; RiggsJP, 200-2; for a ground plan of the Temple see Dummelow Com. chart at end; JCiii, 383-390.

(513) HBiv, 305-310; BGH, 234-5; read GASmith's great chapter in *Jerusalem*ii, 521-555; Goodspeed, *Israel's Messianic Hope;* Oesterly, *Evolution of the Messianic Idea.*
(514) HBiv, 295-6; BGH, 234; RiggsJP, 203-214; Sm*Jerus*ii, 475 and the very valuable note on pp.475-6.
(515) HBv, 34; RiggsJP, 232.
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(518) HBv, 37-8; BGH, 237; RiggsJP, 236-240; Mathews *NTTimes.*
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(525) See Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha;* HastDB, 39, 40; Dummelow Com. lxii-iv; RiggsJP, 153.
(526) The closing pages of JCiii, 390-420 are excellent.
(527) RiggsJP, 278-80.
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(532) Sm *Jerus* ii, 521-555.

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